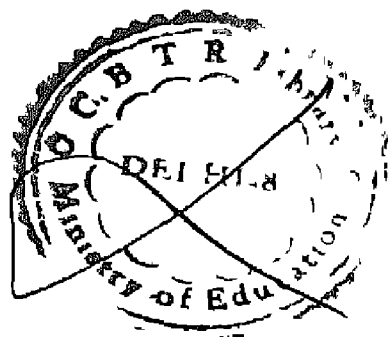


A HISTORY OF BRITAIN



A HISTORY OF BRITAIN

BY

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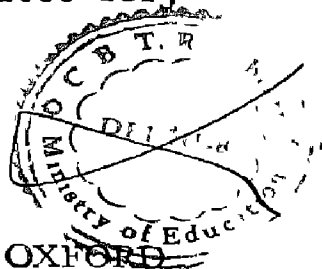
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BOOK III

1688-1815



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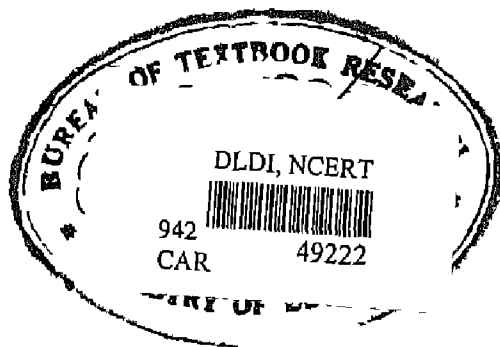
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PREFACE

THE teaching of history has in recent years undergone considerable changes, mainly in the direction of humanizing the treatment of the subject. That such changes were desirable was emphasized in the official Report (1932) on the School Certificate Examination. The authors' aim has been to meet this new outlook and these changed conditions. They have collaborated to produce a History of Britain which, while fully covering the various School Certificate and Matriculation syllabuses, gives in the normal course of the narrative prominent attention to the cultural, social, and economic aspects of History.

From the first to the last chapter the book has been subjected to close scrutiny by a number of expert critics, and it will be found to embody (as far as is practicable in a book of this kind) the results of the latest researches—results which usually take many years to find their way into books intended primarily for schools.

Due emphasis has been laid on the Geography of History, and the book is furnished with numerous maps. The illustrations have been very carefully selected for their interest in themselves and for their value in supplementing the narrative. Date Summaries, for those who find them an aid to the memory, have been given at frequent intervals, and Outline Summaries of the landmarks in British and relevant World History are also included in each volume. Local history as an illustration of the national story has received due consideration, and the reader will find references in the Index to nearly all the counties and principal towns of England and Wales. Finally the story of the development of the British Empire, which is bound up with the history of Britain itself, has been given the prominence which its importance demands.

The authors wish to express their thanks to Dr J. A. Williamson, who has read the whole book in proof and whose help and criticism have been most valuable, and to Mr G. H. Ely, Mr J. H. Robinson, and Mr Raymond Bantock, who have also read and criticized considerable portions of the book. Certain

PREFACE

chapters and sections have also been read by various scholars, among whom the authors particularly wish to thank the following Professor R G Collingwood, Professor H W V Temperley, Professor A S Turberville, Mr H I. Beales, Dr, C R M F Cuttwell, Mr J G Edwards, Mr R C K Ensor, Mr C. J B Gaskoin, Dr. G B Henderson, Mr R L Mackie, Mr Richard Pares, Mr R B Wernham, and Mr. E. W. Gilbert (who has given valuable assistance in the preparation of the maps) The authors also wish to express their gratitude to the staff of the Oxford University Press, and particularly to Mr A L P Norrington, whose help has been especially valuable in the choice of the illustrations

E H C
R A F M.

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OUTLINE SUMMARY

LATER STUART PERIOD (1688-1714)

1688 The Revolution
1689 William and Mary *acc*
1702-14 Anne

1702-13 War of Spanish Succession
1704 ✕ Blenheim
1704 English take Gibraltar
1713 Treaty of Utrecht

1707 Union of England and Scotland

GEORGIAN PERIOD (1714-83)

1714 George I *acc*
1715 Jacobite Rebellion
1721-42 Walpole Ministry
1739 First Wesleyan Methodist Society

1745 Jacobite Rebellion

1757-61 Pitt's Ministry

1760-1820 George III
1765 Stamp Act
1769 Watt's Steam Engine
1770-82 North's Ministry

1740-86 Frederick the Great (Prussia)
1740-8 War of Austrian Succession
1751 Siege of Arcot (Clive)
1756-63 Seven Years War
1757 ✕ Plassey
1759 British take Quebec
1763 Treaty of Paris—Canada British
1768-79 Cook's Pacific Voyages
1775-83 American War of Independence
1776 Declaration of Independence
1783 Treaty of Versailles (U S A independent)

REVOLUTIONARY ERA (1783-1815)

1783-1801 Younger Pitt's Ministry

1800 Union of Great Britain and Ireland

1807 British Slave Trade ended

1788 New South Wales
1789-97 Washington, President, U S A
1789 French Revolution
1792-1815 Wars of French Revolution
1796 Napoleon in Italy
1798 ✕ The Nile
1804-14 Napoleon Emperor
1805 ✕ Trafalgar
1805 ✕ Austerlitz
1808-14 Peninsular War
1815 ✕ Waterloo
Congress of Vienna

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—INTRODUCTION

THE eighteenth century has often been described as a formal, conventional time, when men lived an unhurried existence, with little to disturb the quiet routine of their days.¹ Indeed, to some minds, there is much that is attractive in this picture of the last century of Old England—before the railways were built, before modern industrial towns existed, and when there was no rush and noise (at least until the end of the century) of steam-engines and machinery

Though, as we shall see presently, there is much in this picture of a steady, placid life that is deceptive, it has some measure of truth in it. Politically, Britain was static. The great constitutional change of 1688 established the landed gentry firmly in power, and their position was never seriously shaken till the Reform Act of 1832. Those—and they were many—who praised the ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688 praised it because it had given England a constitution thought to be perfect. The ‘constitutional monarchy’ of the Hanoverians took the place of Stuart ‘divine’ kingship; to the turbulent days of Charles and James succeeded the quieter rule of the ministers of King George.² The power of Parliament was supreme, and the aristocracy controlled Parliament; this, again, was not seriously challenged till the nineteenth century.

The English aristocracy was firmly established socially, no less than politically. Until the French Revolution (1789) came to inspire certain thinkers with ‘Jacobin’ ideas, it was unusual to question the rightfulness of the existing order, sanctified by custom and even by religion. This favoured aristocracy made

¹ ‘The first reaction of many minds to the words “eighteenth century” is a vision of beaux in coloured silk garments, drinking coffee out of small cups, while engaging in elegant philosophical small talk with ladies in towering powdered head-dresses and patched cheeks’ G. M. Trevelyan in *The Age of Johnson*, vol. 1, p. 1

² The first twenty years of George III were an exception. See Chap. XXVIII.

many good uses of its opportunities, among the gentry were many patrons of art, and builders of the beautiful Queen Anne and Georgian houses of the eighteenth century. Not all English squares were the heavy drinkers portrayed by Fielding in *Tom Jones*.

But a more thorough examination of this period reveals many signs which belie our first impression of a static society, indeed, this very century saw the origin of a change which has altered the entire nature of human occupations—the Industrial Revolution. Not only this, but in the eighteenth century Britain lost one empire and acquired the beginnings of another, she passed through a great religious revival, while from across the Channel the voice of the French Revolution came to challenge the accepted order of political thinking.

Signs of change
(i) The Industrial Revolution

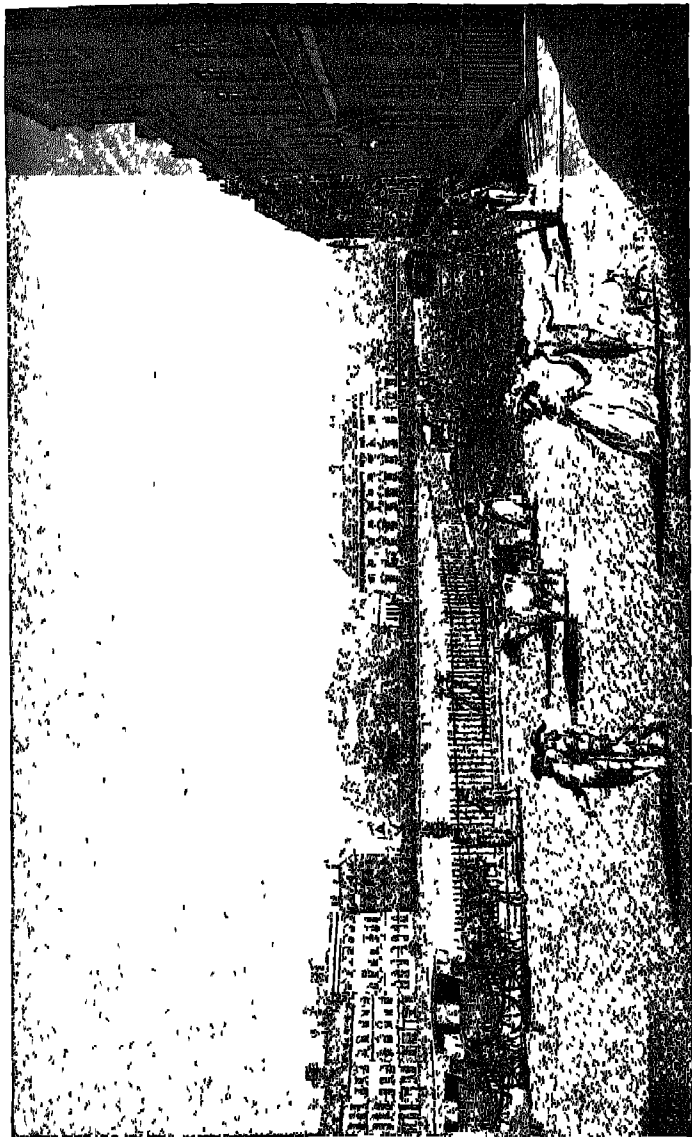
The use of machinery, which has so transformed our daily lives, was at first slow. John Kay invented his 'flying shuttle' for weaving in 1733, but it was another thirty years before Hargreaves made his spinning 'jenny' and fifty years before one of Watt's steam-engines was used in a cotton-mill.¹ At the same time that the new inventions gradually drew men, women, and children towards the new towns and the new factories, another change was coming over agricultural England. The 'improving landlords' of the eighteenth century were busy enclosing the old common fields, and hundreds of Enclosure Acts were passed, changing the face of much of the countryside beyond recognition.² The transformation from a rural to an urban society began in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and continued throughout the nineteenth, it is the greatest fact in modern history.

(ii) The Religious Revival

The great change in industry took place about the same time as a religious revival which was very largely the work of one man—John Wesley. The Church of England, until Wesley's work influenced it, was content, on the whole, to leave the poor to their own devices—a course which might have been disastrous had not Wesley and his Methodists altered the whole religious outlook of England. The Wesley brothers and their first helpers were obstructed in their mission of preaching the Gospel to the poor by the interference of violent mobs. It

¹ See Chap. XXX, Section 2

² See Chap. XXX, Section i



THE LEISURELY SIDE OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LIFE

London, about 1780 Notice the hackney-coach waiting for a fare, and the cows being driven by a milkmaid

was no orderly, civilized society which Wesley found in the growing industrial areas, but an ignorant, almost heathen population. The violence of these mobs, who turned with a will from baiting animals to baiting preachers, goes far to modify the picture of a peaceful Georgian England.

(iii) The
Expansion
of England

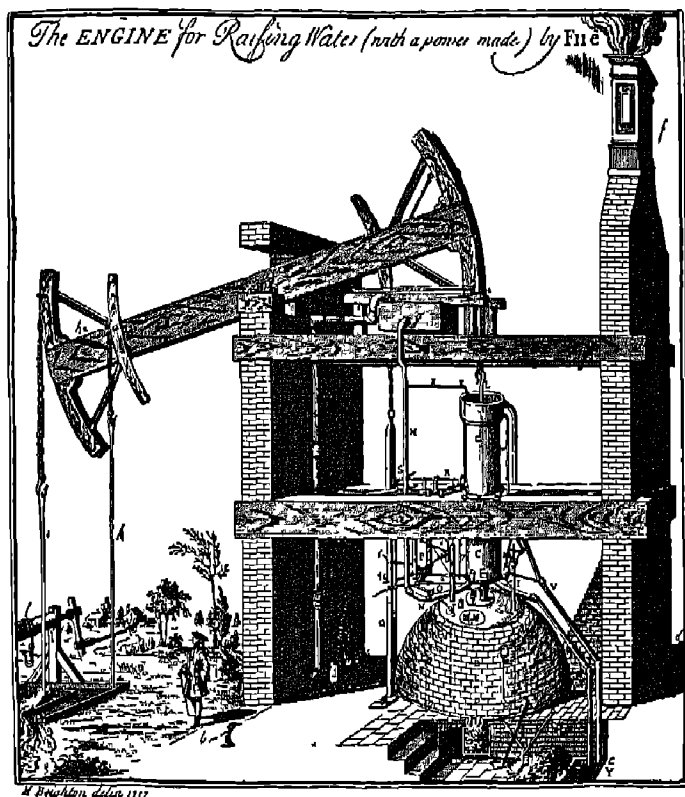
The reign of George III (1760-1820) witnessed the famous quarrel with the American Colonies, ending in the recognition of the independence of the United States (1783). But this loss of the bulk of our old Empire was balanced by the acquisition of other lands which were to develop into the modern British Commonwealth. The foundation of three of the present Dominions was laid in the period under review. Canada was conquered from the French (1763), Australian settlement was begun at Botany Bay (1788), and Cape Colony was acquired from the Dutch (1806). Further, under Clive, Warren Hastings, and Wellesley, Britain acquired the empire of India (1757-1805). The eighteenth century was the age of rival empires and wars for empire; and in this struggle Britain was the most fortunate competitor. The names of Clive and Wolfe, Rodney and Nelson, remind us that this was an age when great military and naval traditions were created; the century which opened with Marlborough and ended with Wellington was not one of peace. Of the 127 years from 1688 to 1815, 62 were years of peace, 65 years of war.¹

(iv) The
French
Revolution

The last of these wars was ushered in by the tremendous upheaval known as the French Revolution. Though France later turned to military glory under Napoleon, the real work of the Revolution was to overthrow the old social system of France, and to change the existing order of society in other European countries. Though this change was violently resisted, in England as elsewhere, it began to take effect in the nineteenth century. The upholders of the old established order might still praise the 'Glorious Revolution', which had given England her orderly government, but the ideas which lay

¹ There was only one long interval of peace—the 26 years between the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) and the outbreak of the colonial struggle, first with Spain (1739) and then France. Even in the nominally peaceful years, there was often fighting in America and in India between British and French. See Chap. XXVII.

behind the watchwords, 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity', were, in the next generation, to bear their fruit on the English side of the Channel. The French Revolution was the forerunner of modern democracy.



THE COMING OF STEAM

From the earliest known engraving (1717) of Newcomen's steam-engine, used for raising water from mines

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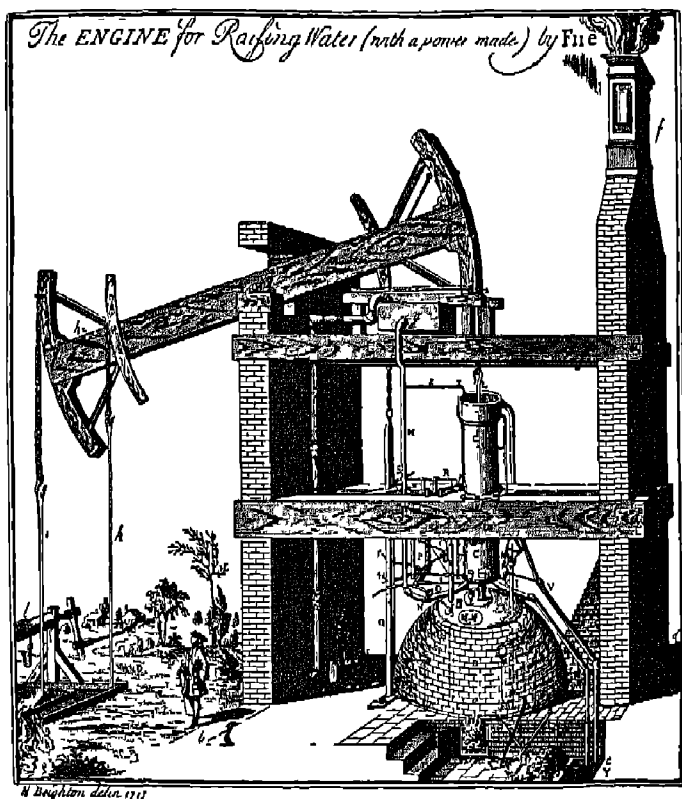
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THE COMING OF STEAM

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WILLIAM AND MARY AND ANNE

I. *The Revolution Settlement*(a) *In England*

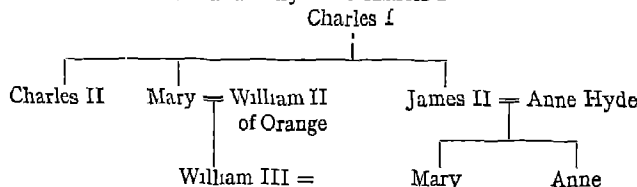
The
Convention
1689
 AFTER the final departure of James II (Christmas 1688), the Prince of Orange issued letters summoning a Convention,¹ which met on 22 January 1689. The first business of this Convention was to settle the question who should be King of England. It was resolved that James II, 'having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, hath abdicated the government and the throne is thereby become vacant'. Many of the Tories still clung to the theory that James was divinely appointed, and therefore must be king as long as he was alive, they wished for a Regency ruling in his name. Lord Nottingham proposed that the Crown should go to Mary, James's elder daughter, with her husband, William of Orange, acting as Regent. But here William intervened, he flatly refused to rule in his wife's name. He would have the Crown or nothing—otherwise he would return to Holland. It was then decided to offer the Crown to William and Mary as joint sovereigns, and this offer was accepted (February 1689).²

Accession
of William
and Mary
1689

The offer of the Crown was accompanied by a Declaration of Rights, which became the Bill of Rights when passed by

¹ So called because not summoned by the Sovereign. (Compare the Convention of 1660.)

² Descent of William and Mary from Charles I



the first Parliament of the new reign (1689) The passing of the Bill of Rights ended the long struggle which had been going on between King and Parliament all through the reigns of the Stuart kings The struggle was decided in favour of Parliament, since William and Mary were offered, and accepted, the throne on Parliament's terms The Bill of Rights limited the Sovereign's power in certain important directions

The Bill of Rights
1689

- 1 The 'pretended power' of suspending the laws by royal authority was declared to be illegal ¹
- 2 The king should levy no money, except by grant of Parliament
- 3 The king should not keep a standing army in time of peace without consent of Parliament ²
4. Parliament was to be free in its electing, and in its subjects of debate, and 'ought to be held frequently'.

The effect of the Bill was to make a royal despotism in England impossible; such is the foundation on which the constitutional monarchy of England rests It was further declared that the King of England could not be a Roman Catholic or marry a person of that religion

This 'Glorious Revolution' (1688-9), which determined the future political history of England, was accompanied by a step forward on the path of religious toleration William of Orange was a Calvinist, and he refused to permit the continued persecution of Dissenters By the Toleration Act (1689), Nonconformist congregations were allowed to worship in their own way, without interference from the law They were not, however, admitted to a share in local or national government, from which their religion still debarred them, the Corporation Act and the Test Act³ remained unrepealed until the nineteenth

Toleration
Act 1689

¹ While the 'suspending power' (i.e. suspending a law altogether) was abolished, the 'dispensing power' (i.e. issuing dispensations to particular persons exempting them from the provisions of the law) was condemned 'as it hath been used of late' This referred to James II's dispensations to Roman Catholics and Nonconformists

² Mutiny Acts (now called Army Acts), allowing the king to keep an army for one year only, have been passed nearly every year since 1689

³ See above, pp 493 and 498 It was the Tories who insisted, against the wishes of the king and the Whigs, in retaining these Acts on the Statute Book But annual indemnity acts were soon passed.

century Roman Catholics were not included in the Toleration Act, though in practice they were allowed to hold their own services in peace.

The Toleration Act was the work of King William, of the Whigs in Parliament, and of the more moderate Churchmen. There was, however, a considerable body of 'High Churchmen' who refused not only to accept the principles of toleration, but even to accept William as king. Six of the seven bishops who had refused to issue James II's Declaration of Indulgence¹ now refused to take the oath to King William, and they were followed by 400 of the clergy. They were therefore deprived of their sees and benefices, and formed a separate sect of their own, known as the Non-Jurors, which lasted for some generations. Their departure paved the way for the promotion of 'Low Churchmen', who disliked all forms of religious enthusiasm, and who became the typical English church dignitaries of the eighteenth century.

William III was never loved in England. Unlike his uncle Charles II, he did not understand the art of making himself personally popular—and he would have scorned to do so even if he had. He knew quite well that his presence in England was regarded as a disagreeable necessity, but he did not allow the fact to disturb his mind or interfere with his plans. His aims were magnificent, but his heart was cold; he was a stoic in the tradition of the ancient heroes of Greece and Rome, and the ideal of duty ruled his life. The affection which William failed, or scorned, to inspire among his subjects was given to his kind-hearted wife, Mary (died 1694).

The main object of William's life, in pursuit of which he had accepted the Crown of England, was to overthrow the power of Louis XIV. The first eight years of his reign in England were spent in a war against France. William used the power of England as a means to accomplish his European aims, beyond that he had little interest in this country. He did not trust English politicians, and with good reason, for nearly all of them—Whigs as well as Tories—kept in touch with the Court of St. Germain, where James was living. They regarded William as a stop-gap, and always bore in mind that another

¹ See above, p. 507

turn of Fortune's wheel might bring back the exiled James King William, therefore, naturally gave his chief confidence to his own Dutchmen, and particularly to William Bentinck, whom he made Earl of Portland

The king himself was at the head of the government, and he kept the direction of foreign affairs entirely in his own hands. But, since he was dependent on Parliament both for men and money, he had to work with English politicians. The government was not then formed, as it is now, generally from the party which could command a majority in the House of Commons. William chose his first ministers from both parties; many of them were Whigs, but the chief minister was a Tory—Danby, Charles II's old Treasurer. As the war proceeded, however, William found that he could work better with the Whigs, who were more deeply interested in the Revolution Settlement than their rivals. And neither the king nor the Whigs forgot that, if England lost the war, the restoration of James II by French arms was a probability.

It was to guard against any such restoration of the old line that Parliament passed the Act of Settlement (1701). Since Queen Mary was dead, the heir to William's throne was his sister-in-law, the Princess Anne. The Act of Settlement declared, not only that Anne should succeed William, but that if she should die without direct heirs,¹ the Crown should pass to the Dowager Electress of Hanover, a grand-daughter of James I, and her descendants.² The Act of Settlement, which thus ensured the succession of the House of Hanover and has given England her present line of kings, excluded James II (who died the same year) and his son from the throne. It was passed at a time when a further struggle between England and Louis XIV was about to break out.

Act of
Settlement
1701

(b) *In Scotland.*

The results of the Revolution were no less important in Scotland. A Convention was held at Edinburgh, and a resolution was passed called the 'Claim of Right', corresponding to the

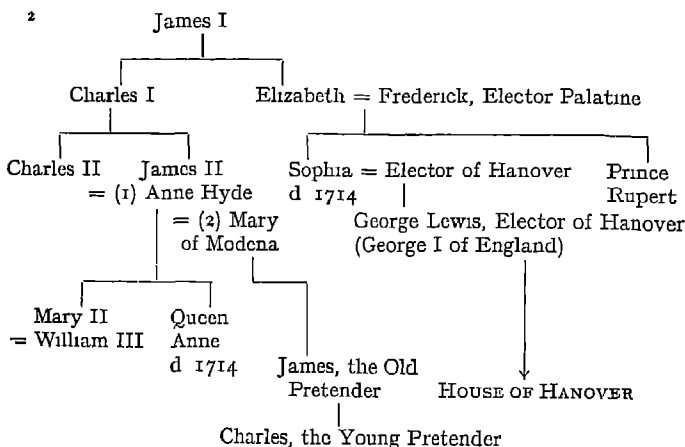
¹ Anne had had a large family, but her only remaining child, the Duke of Gloucester, had just died (1700)

² For note 2 see next page

Declaration of Rights in England James VII (James II of England), the last of the long line of Stuart kings of Scotland, was declared to have forfeited the Crown, which was offered to William and Mary. The expulsion of the ancient line, however, did not suit the Highlanders, many of whom rose in a last rally for King James under John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee 'Bonny Dundee' won a battle over the Lowlanders and English in the Pass of Killiecrankie (1689), but he himself fell in the hour of victory After this the Highlanders dispersed and came to terms It was agreed that all the clans should take the oath of allegiance by the first day of the year 1692 All did so except the chief of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who was delayed by accident Sir John Dalrymple, a Secretary of State, induced William (who was in Holland) to punish the clan—'to extirpate that sept (clan) of thieves!' One hundred and twenty men of Argyll's regiment under Robert Campbell of Glenlyon were chosen as the instruments of punishment, and were sent to the Glencoe valley, where for a fortnight they were entertained as guests One morning they treacherously rose up and attacked their hosts the chief and thirty-seven of his clan were butchered—the rest escaped to the hills The responsibility for this savage deed must be attributed partly to the customary feuds of the High-

Battle of
Killiecrankie
1689

Massacre of
Glencoe
1693



land chiefs and partly to the Government. The Jacobites denounced the crime at home and abroad.

A few years later Scotland suffered severe loss by the failure of the unfortunate Darien Scheme. Several London merchants formed a plan for promoting Scottish colonization in Africa or the Indies, the plan was enthusiastically taken up in Edinburgh, where the Scottish Parliament passed a Bill setting up the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies (1695). But the English Parliament, jealous for the monopoly of the East India Company, was hostile, whereupon the London Scottish merchants grew alarmed and dropped the scheme. But the Edinburgh merchants persisted, and large sums of money were subscribed in Scotland, in what amounted to a national effort to promote Scottish colonization. Darien, near Panama, was eventually chosen as the place for a colony, it was intended to establish an overland trade-route across the isthmus, connecting the Atlantic and Pacific. But it was an unfortunate choice, for the Spaniards were bound to object, and King William was then conducting delicate negotiations on the future of the Spanish Empire.¹ It was impossible for him to countenance the Darien colony or to defend an enterprise undertaken against his wishes. Three expeditions were, however, sent out (1698-9), all ended in disaster, and the would-be colonists were at last forced, owing to Spanish hostility and the bad climate, to give up the enterprise. The shareholders lost practically all the money they had invested. Somewhat unfairly they blamed England for the failure of an adventure they should never have undertaken.

The Darien
Scheme
1695-9

In spite of this incident, the reign of William and Mary was on the whole a happy one in Scottish history. The king determined to put an end to the long religious struggle which had begun when Archbishop Laud had tried to impose the Anglican Prayer Book and organization on Scotland. The important thing was to allow the Scots to organize their own religion without interference from England, the Presbyterian Kirk was therefore set up as the national church of Scotland. The fondness of the Scots for disputes over minor points of doctrine led to several secessions from the established Presbyterian Kirk.

Establish-
ment of the
Presby-
terian Kirk
1690

¹ See below, p. 563

during the eighteenth century, e.g. the Cameronians and the Original Seceders.¹

Scotland had now, for the first time since the Reformation, a national, democratically governed Kirk, the choice of her own people. The Scottish Parliament, too, was freer from English control than at any time since 1603. But its independence lasted only eighteen years. English statesmen began to feel that a closer union between England and Scotland was desirable. This feeling was increased after the passing of the Act of Settlement (1701) at Westminster, for the Scottish Parliament passed no such act. The Scots accepted Anne as queen, but it was by no means certain that they would accept the Hanoverians.² As long as the Parliament remained independent of Westminster, it was free to pass its own laws, and might even call back the Stuarts. After long negotiations, the Act of Union was passed (1707) both at London and Edinburgh, and the Scottish Parliament came to an end. The Scots were allowed 45 members in the Commons and 16 peers in the Lords in the United Parliament of Great Britain. They were also allowed to keep their own Kirk and their own law courts. Above all, free trade between the two countries was established.

The Act of
Union
1707

Scotland prospered after the Union, for her trading towns were now allowed free competition with those of England. In education, too, Scotland was for long far ahead of England, and schools were set up in every parish. Scotsmen, as is well known, have taken a great share in building up the British Empire, and in business they are frequently to be found in the best positions.

(c) *In Ireland*

James II in
Ireland

The Revolution, called 'Glorious' in England, was given no such name in Ireland. Here the Catholic majority made a great effort to undo the results of a century of oppression, and threw in their lot with the Catholic James II. James landed at

¹ The Secession Church split into the Burghers and the Anti-Burghers, and these again into the Auld Licht and New Licht Burghers and the Auld Licht and New Licht Anti-Burghers.

² In 1703 the Scottish Parliament passed a Security Act, claiming the right to choose their own sovereign—not necessarily the same person as the English sovereign—on the death of Anne.

Kinsale (1689) and began a war against the Protestants of Ulster. The Orangemen—as the Ulster supporters of William of Orange were called—defended Londonderry after James had overrun the rest of the country. The siege of Londonderry lasted fifteen weeks and the inhabitants were reduced to the last extremities of hunger. But at last an English ship broke the boom which had been placed across the River Foyle, and supplies were brought in (1689).

Siege of
Londonderry, 1689

Next year William landed in Ireland. He defeated James's army of Irish and Frenchmen at the Battle of the Boyne (1690), a turning-point in the history of the British Isles. James himself was one of the first to quit the field and he immediately took ship for France. Deserted by their king after the first blow had been struck, the unfortunate Irish were left to the doubtful mercy of William, which meant that the country was reduced to starvation and surrender. The last town to hold out was Limerick, which was gallantly defended by Patrick Sarsfield until the autumn of 1691. Then a treaty was signed by which the defenders agreed to surrender Limerick on condition that the Irish Catholics should enjoy as much liberty as they had done under Charles II.

Battle of the
Boyne, 1690

Siege of
Limerick
1691

But the Treaty of Limerick was shamefully broken. King William himself was anxious to carry out its terms and to treat the Catholics fairly. But the English Parliament was highly intolerant, and in 1691 passed a law that only Protestants could sit in the Irish Parliament. This sealed the fate of the Catholics, whose existence was made miserable by a harsh Penal Code, begun under William and Mary, and continued under Queen Anne. By this Code Catholics were forbidden to sit not only in Parliament but on juries, they could not serve in the army, or on town councils, or enter the teaching profession. They could not buy land, and when one of the existing Catholic landowners died, his property did not descend to his heir, but had to be split up among all his children.

It must be noted that the Protestant minority were genuinely afraid of a repetition of the Catholic Rebellion of 1641, or of the Civil War of 1689—of two religious wars in one generation. But even the Protestants of Ulster, who had fought for King William, were badly treated. Most of them were Dissenters,

The Penal
and Com-
mercial
Laws

and they were not permitted to share in the religious toleration now granted to England and Scotland. To add to the sum of Irish misery, the Commercial Code, designed to favour England at Ireland's expense, was increased in severity. The Irish cattle trade had already been ruined by an Act of Charles II's Parliament,¹ now it was the turn of the Irish wool trade. The export of wool to any country except England was prohibited, and from England the wool was largely kept out by high tariffs (1699).

No Englishman can read without shame this unworthy passage in our history. The broken treaty of Limerick, the harsh and mean laws, were bad enough. But the complete lack of any sense of responsibility towards the conquered race was worse. Had the policy of the English in Ireland been followed elsewhere, there would have been no British Empire to-day.

2 *William III and Louis XIV*

The ambitions of Louis XIV form the central theme of European history in the second half of the seventeenth century. Louis had, in the course of a long series of wars, seized large slices of the Spanish Netherlands and nearly ruined Holland by his invasion of 1672. His further designs threatened both Holland and Germany. Already, by the seizure of Alsace (1681), the French frontier had reached the Rhine, Louis' troops had also occupied Lorraine. The Emperor and the German princes were seriously alarmed, they formed an alliance known as the League of Augsburg (1686) with the object of opposing any further French advance eastward. This alliance was joined by William of Orange, as Stadtholder of Holland, before he became King of England.

The European situation was entirely altered by the Revolution in England which overthrew James II and set William and Mary on the throne. The long English subservience to France, which had lasted for twenty years under Charles II and his brother, was broken at last. Instead of the Stuarts, Louis was confronted with the first statesman in Europe seated on the English throne, William of Orange was at last in a

¹ See above, Chap XXIII

The Relief of London-Derry;

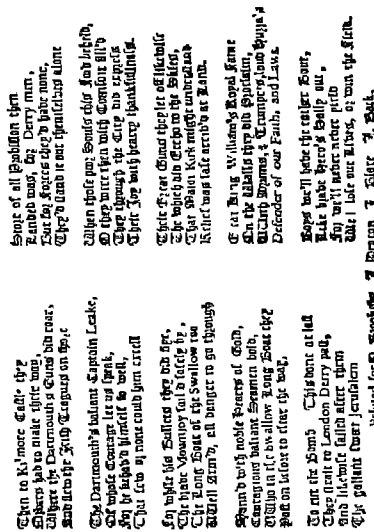
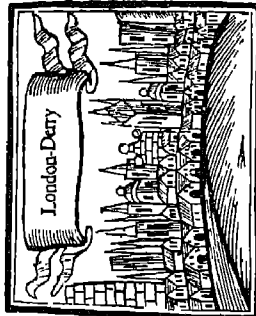
OR THE

**Happy Arrival of the Timely Succours Landed at London-Derry,
by the Prudent Care and Conduct of**

Major General Kirk,

To the Unfrockable Toy of the Besieged

To the Tune of "The Company of London Ditty"



THE RELIEF OF LONDONDERRY

A contemporary broadside

position to face his arch-enemy on equal terms. Part of Louis' object in fighting the Anglo-Dutch-German combination was therefore to dethrone William and restore James. It was this fact that made the English fight for their little-loved king.

King William stood at the head of the European alliance against France—England, Holland, and Spain leagued with the Emperor and the German princes. This War of the League of Augsburg lasted eight years (1689-97). It was fought on all the French frontiers, at sea, in Ireland, and in the colonies of North America. The first two years were occupied in James II's ill-fated attempt to win England through Ireland, but the Battle of the Boyne ended the attempt as far as he was concerned. In 1692 Louis prepared a fleet to invade England, James went down to La Hogue to embark with it. But the Dutch and English fleets—the English under Admiral Russell—scattered the French in the Channel, the battle of Barfleur ended all chance of an invasion of England (1692). For the rest of the war French commerce suffered severely from English and Dutch attacks. Not for the first or the last time, the command of the sea settled the fate of England.

Next to the command of the sea, our most important object was to secure control of the Low Countries. It has always been one of the cardinal principles of English policy to prevent the Low Countries—Holland and Belgium—from falling into the hands of a hostile power. For this object we fought later on against the First French Republic and Napoleon, for this object we fought the Germans in the Great War. In 1689 both England and Holland were determined that Louis XIV should not conquer the Spanish Netherlands—Belgium. King William therefore crossed to Belgium year by year, and fought a series of campaigns against the French generals. English soldiers fought in the Flanders mud as their ancestors had done under Henry V and as their descendants were to do under George V. The French won several battles, but William was always skilful enough to retreat with most of his army intact. His principal success was the capture of the fortress of Namur (1695).

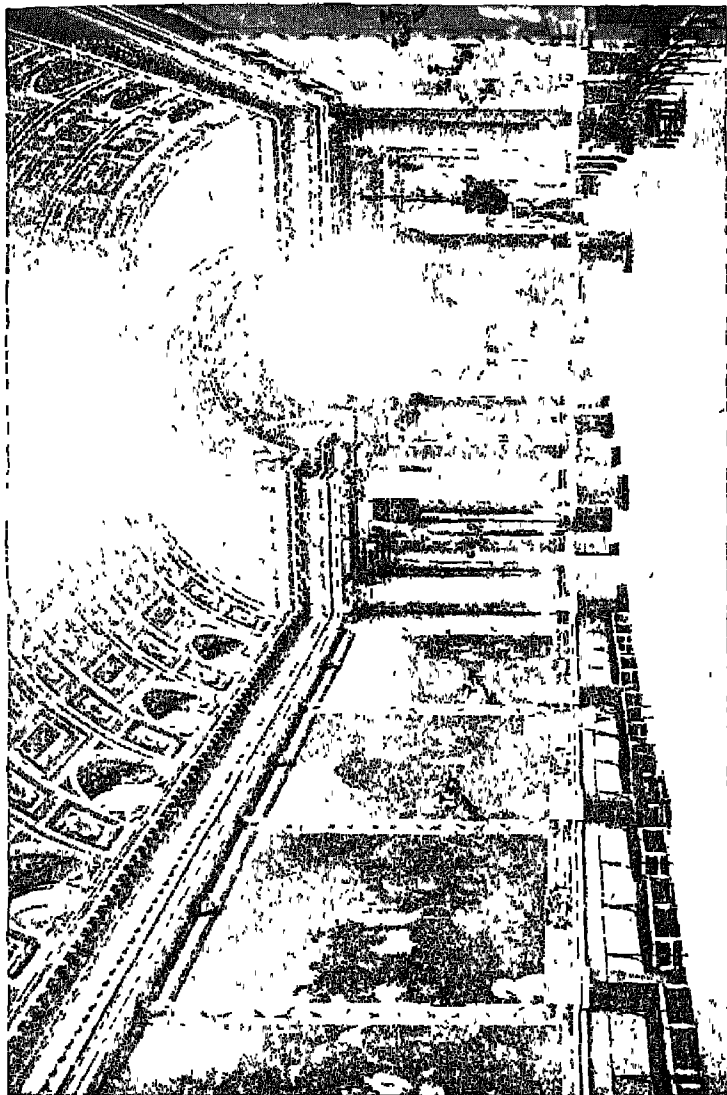
It was the waging of King William's war against Louis XIV which brought about a financial revolution in English history. One of the main causes of the former quarrels between English

War of the
League of
Augsburg
1689-97

Battle of
Barfleur
1692

The Low
Countries

The War
and the
National
Debt



'GALERIE DES BATAILLES' IN LOUIS XIV'S GREAT PALACE OF VERSAILLES

kings and their Parliaments had been the question of taxation. Since war is always more expensive than peace, war had always meant fresh taxation. The Whig statesmen, Sir John Somers and Charles Montagu, now hit upon the plan of making posterity pay for wars. The National Debt, which has been chiefly incurred in waging war, is not a debt which has to be settled by one generation, the banking system which the Whigs began under William III carries the Debt on from one generation to another. The ministry of William III obtained funds—in the first instance, £1,200,000—by establishing a company to lend money to the Government. This company was the Bank of England, founded in 1694. The Bank at first borrowed money from the public at 2½ per cent, and lent it to the Government at 8 per cent. Founded, therefore, as a Whig expedient for paying for the war, the Bank soon established itself in the national confidence. Its credit, even in the worst days of the Napoleonic War, has never since been seriously shaken.

Founding
of the Bank
of England
1694

By 1697 both sides were anxious for peace, which was accordingly concluded at Ryswick, near The Hague. For the first time Louis emerged from a war without making any fresh conquests. He agreed to allow the Dutch to maintain garrisons in the Barrier Fortresses (e.g. Namur, Ypres, Menin) in the Spanish Netherlands. He also recognized William III as King of England. In America the English restored Acadie to the French in return for Fort Albany which the French had taken from the Hudson's Bay Company.

Treaty of
Ryswick
1697

No sooner was this peace concluded than Europe was faced with the problem of the succession to the Spanish throne. Charles II of Spain (1665–1700) was the last of the Hapsburg kings of Spain and he had no children. The question of the succession to his throne involved large issues—who should be the next King of Spain, and what would happen to the vast Spanish Empire at his death. Charles had two sisters, the elder had married Louis XIV, the younger the Emperor Leopold I.¹ If either Louis or Leopold should claim to succeed Charles, the balance of power in Europe would be upset, it was

The
Spanish
Succession
Question

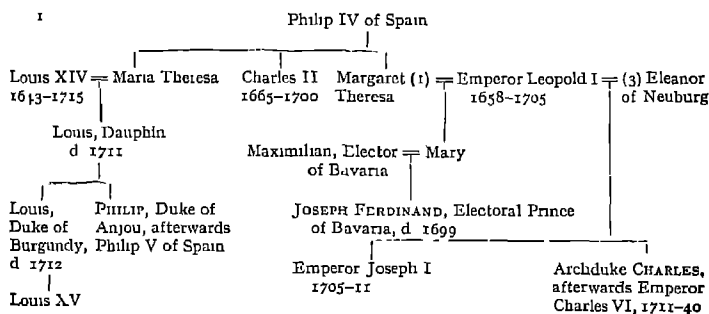
¹ The elder sister, Louis' wife, had renounced her rights to the Spanish throne at the time of her marriage. But the French Court questioned whether this renunciation was binding on her descendants.

unthinkable that the union of France and Spain, or of Spain and Austria, could be brought about without war. Both Louis and Leopold were willing, however, to renounce their claims to the Spanish Empire, each in favour of another member of his own family. The Austrian candidate was the Emperor's younger son, the Archduke Charles, Louis proposed one of his own grandsons. Another claimant was Joseph Ferdinand, Electoral Prince of Bavaria, he was by far the most suitable candidate for he was not in the line of succession to the Imperial throne (see Table) ¹ Had he become King of Spain, the succession of either a French or an Austrian claimant would have been avoided. Louis was willing to agree to the Bavarian's taking the Spanish Crown, provided France was given some compensation. He therefore signed the First Partition Treaty (1698) recognizing Joseph Ferdinand as heir to the Spanish throne and dominions, except Naples and Sicily, which were to go to France. Then, unfortunately, the Electoral Prince died of small-pox (1699).

First
Partition
Treaty
1698

Louis was not anxious to embark on another war for the sake of the Spanish inheritance. He therefore agreed to a Second Partition Treaty (1699)—which William III arranged in the interests of peace—recognizing the Austrian Archduke as heir to Spain, France was to be compensated with Naples, Sicily, and Milan. But there were two objections to this treaty. First, the Emperor Leopold would not sign it, but claimed the whole Spanish inheritance for his son. Secondly, the Spanish ministers would have none of it, they were determined that the Spanish Empire should not be partitioned, whatever else

Second
Partition
Treaty
1699



happened This determination they now conveyed to the feeble mind of the King of Spain.

Charles II
of Spain

Charles II of Spain had been a semi-imbecile since boyhood Macaulay, in a well-known passage of his *History*, has described the last days of this wretched man

'That he was too weak to lift his food to his misshapen mouth, that, at thirty-seven, he had the bald head and wrinkled face of a man of seventy, that his complexion was turning from yellow to green—these were no longer the worst symptoms of his malady He had always been afraid of ghosts and demons, and it had long been necessary that three friars should watch every night by his restless bed to guard against hobgoblins But now he was firmly convinced that he was bewitched, that there was a devil within him, that there were devils all around him '¹

His Will
and Death
1700

It was this poor king who was now induced to make a will naming Louis' grandson Philip of Anjou as the inheritor of all his dominions, so that the Spanish Empire should remain undivided. Having done this, the unfortunate man expired (1700)

Louis
accepts the
Will

The news of Charles's death and will came as a thunderbolt to European statesmen Louis decided to throw over the agreement made in the Second Partition Treaty, especially as it had not been approved by the Emperor, and to accept the will The French Court was assembled at Versailles, the king was closeted with his grandson At length the doors were thrown open, Louis appeared leaning on Philip's arm. 'Messieurs,' he said, 'voici le roi d'Espagne!'

William III
and
Marl-
borough

Louis' decision led to war Neither England nor Austria would permit the whole Spanish Empire to pass to Philip, even though that prince renounced his right to succeed to the French throne William III was a sick man, but he braced himself for one final effort He knew that he himself would not live to wage the war which he was preparing, he looked round for a man to take his place With unerring instinct he chose the one person in England capable of carrying on his task, he chose a man who had long been his personal enemy, and whom he had often suspected of treason against him—John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough. Marlborough was the chief adherent of

¹ Macaulay, *History of England*, Chapter XXIV

the heiress to the throne, the Princess Anne, whose bosom friend was Sarah Churchill, Marlborough's wife. Anne and Lady Marlborough hated King William, whom they always referred to as 'Mr Caliban', though since Queen Mary's death they had become more reconciled to him. William now showed, against all expectation, that he trusted Marlborough. He sent him as English minister to Holland, charged with the task of forming a Grand Alliance with the Dutch and the Emperor against France. Marlborough succeeded in his task. His wonderful charm of manner well fitted him for the task of ambassador, he stepped into the place William had prepared for him as the chief representative of England. In September 1701 the Treaty of the Grand Alliance was signed, and William's work was done.

Treaty of
the Grand
Alliance
1701

A week later James II died at St Germain. Louis immediately recognized his son (known to English history as the Old Pretender) as James III of England. It was a foolish act, for it united England against him. Parliament had already passed the Act of Settlement settling the Crown on Anne,¹ and after her on the House of Hanover, and Englishmen were not going to allow Louis XIV to dictate to them who their king should be. Besides, Louis' actions were most alarming, his troops had occupied the Spanish Netherlands and driven the Dutch garrisons from the Barrier Fortresses. War was now inevitable.

Death of
James II
1701

Just before it broke out William died. While he was out riding his horse stumbled and threw him, and he broke his collarbone. A chill followed—more than the feeble frame of the sick king could endure. His passing was unmourned, for England had not loved him, though he had laboured for her good. He died, and Anne succeeded—as the roll of Marlborough's drums heralded what was, up till then, the greatest war in British history.

Death of
William III
1702

3 *Marlborough*

Queen Anne, the younger daughter of James II and Anne Hyde, was the last of the Stuart sovereigns of England. She was a simple-minded, pious woman, married to a nonentity, Prince George of Denmark. She had been the mother of a large family, but all her children, except one who had reached the

Queen
Anne

¹ See above, p. 554

age of twelve, had died in infancy Her reign, so glorious in English history, was not a happy time for Anne herself, for she lived the life of an invalid, and was seldom free from pain.

For the greater part of her reign Anne was completely under the influence of the Churchills—Marlborough and his sharp-tempered wife. The duke, as he became in 1702, was now over fifty, but only on the threshold of his great career The son of a West-country squire, Sir Winston Churchill, he had won a name for himself in the witty, heartless court of Charles II But his marriage to Sarah Jennings was a love match, Marlborough and his duchess were a devoted couple, and the duke's first action after the battle of Blenheim was to pen a hasty note to his faithful Sarah As a soldier, Marlborough was the first Englishman of his time. To his men he was all that a general should be, he looked after their well-being, and he led them in battles, and these he knew how to win His soldiers loved 'Corporal John', but politicians were not so grateful The duke's charm of manner was no proof against political hatred and, when once his enemies had undermined his influence with the queen, it proved easy to ruin him.

Godolphin The head of the war ministry was Sidney, Lord Godolphin, a close personal friend and relation of the duke ¹ Godolphin became Lord Treasurer, and was for eight years (1702-10) Prime Minister in all but name The choice of ministers depended on personal devotion to Marlborough and Godolphin, the ministry began as mainly Tory, and ended as almost entirely Whig It was the Tories who brought about its fall

War of the Spanish Succession 1702-13 The War of the Spanish Succession, on which Great Britain was now embarking, was fought on four fronts—in Europe, in America, in the Atlantic, and in the Mediterranean For this war France and Spain may be considered as one country, like Germany and Austria in the Great War French armies occupied the Spanish Netherlands and accompanied Louis' grandson to Spain, where he was enthroned as Philip V The war in Europe may be divided into four parts' the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands by Marlborough, the attempt of the French to subdue south Germany and reach Vienna, the fighting in

¹ Godolphin's son Francis married Henrietta Churchill, the duke's elder daughter



THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

A contemporary print showing Anne on her throne, clipping the wings of the French cock Behind her the sun (emblem of Louis XIV) is in eclipse The three inset pictures represent the court of Louis, the battle of Ramillies, and the defeat of the French fleet near Malaga in 1704.

north Italy, where the Duke of Savoy joined the allies, and the attempt of the allies to wrest Spain from Philip V

When Marlborough took command in 1702 the French were in possession of the whole of the Spanish Netherlands. The Anglo-Dutch army faced them, and Marlborough began his attack. His operations in the first two years (1702-3) were along the rivers Meuse and Rhine, he held the line of the Rhine as far as Bonn, but did not advance far into the Spanish Netherlands. Meanwhile the Emperor was in a precarious position, his Hungarian subjects were in revolt,¹ and his great general, Prince Eugène, had been defeated by the French in Italy. Worse still, the French had persuaded the Elector of Bavaria to join them, and were preparing to march through south Germany to Vienna.

Campaign
of 1704

The Emperor appealed to Marlborough, who, seeing that Austria must be saved if the war was to be won, decided to withdraw the bulk of his forces from the Rhine to the Danube. In June and July 1704 he moved by swift marches across Germany, the French had begun their march through Bavaria. On the night of 12 August Marlborough lay at Munster, on the Danube, in command of a mixed army of English (9,000), Dutch, and Germans. He had joined forces with the Imperial army under Prince Eugène, the combined allied forces numbered 52,000. The French and Bavarians, whose numbers were about equal to those of their opponents, were encamped behind the marshes of the little brook Nebel, which flows into the Danube at Blenheim. The French commander, Marshal Tallard, thought himself secure, his right flank rested on the Danube, his left on a forest. He did not imagine that Marlborough would dare to attack him by crossing the marshes of the Nebel.

The battle of Blenheim began the next day (13 August 1704) on a front four miles long. Marlborough waited all the morning for Prince Eugène to get into position opposite the French left, in the meantime his own men were constructing

¹ The Emperor had recently conquered Hungary from the Turks. The Austrians won the battle of Mohacs (1687), and the Turks later surrendered Hungary by treaty (1699). Hungary was ruled by the Hapsburg monarchs till 1918.

bridges to cross the Nebel. Then, in the afternoon, they crossed, and he gave the signal for attack. The village of Blenheim was surrounded, and a large number of French were engaged in its defence. Then Marlborough ordered a cavalry charge, and the French centre gave way. Except for the Bavarians on the left, who retired in good order, the retreat became a rout, the French fled in headlong confusion, and hundreds were drowned in the Danube. The defenders of Blenheim village surrendered and Marshal Tallard himself was captured, together with 10,000 prisoners. The results of Blenheim were overwhelming. Marlborough had won the greatest English victory since Agincourt, he had humbled the pride of Louis' famous army, saved Vienna, and cleared Germany of the French. His own losses were small, the number of English soldiers killed at Blenheim being only 672.

Battle of
Blenheim,
13 August
1704

After pursuing the French across the Rhine, Marlborough returned to the Netherlands, where he fought six campaigns in the following six years. The campaign of 1706 was another great triumph. He won the battle of Ramillies and occupied Antwerp and Brussels. In 1708 he surprised the French at Oudenarde and drove them across the frontier. Lille fell, and the road to Paris was open. The next year (1709) he beat the enemy, though at great cost, at Malplaquet, and took Mons. But the French resistance was hardening, they had lost the Spanish Netherlands, but they were still capable of defending their own frontier.

The Belgian
campaigns

Meanwhile the allies had carried the war into Spain itself. A week before Blenheim, Sir George Rooke, in command of an English fleet, appeared off Gibraltar. The fortress had been left practically unguarded, a few English sailors climbed the Rock, and Gibraltar surrendered. This was by far the most important English success of the war, the command of the Straits of Gibraltar gave the British the entry into the Mediterranean, and paved the way for their future control of Egypt and the Red Sea. In 1708 this success was followed up by the capture of Minorca, one of the Balearic Islands.

Capture of
Gibraltar
1704

and of
Minorca
1708

Two years after the fall of Gibraltar a British expedition under the Earl of Peterborough, accompanied by the Archduke Charles, passed through the Straits and sailed up the

The War in
Spain

Battle of
Almanza
1707

Spanish coast. A landing was made near Barcelona, the city was stormed and taken. The province of Catalonia, of which Barcelona is the capital, now declared for Charles III, as the Archduke called himself. The Catalans have ever been a difficult people to rule, and have often given trouble to Spanish governments. Their defection now caused the Franco-Spanish armies to be drawn towards eastern Spain. Consequently another British army, assisted by the Portuguese,¹ was able to advance from Lisbon (1706). Then the French rallied, and under the Duke of Berwick² they completely routed the allies at the battle of Almanza (1707). After this all Spain, except Catalonia, which still held out, was lost to 'Charles III'. The allied attempt to impose on the Spanish people a sovereign not of their own choice had failed.

4 *Queen Anne and the Tories*

The final stages of the War of the Spanish Succession, and the events leading up to a general peace, were determined by a change which took place in the government of England.

Harley and
St John in
opposition

Dr Sache-
verell

Godolphin's Government, which supplied Marlborough with money for the war, became in time a wholly Party ministry consisting entirely of Whigs. But the dismissal of the Tory ministers, Robert Harley and Henry St John (1708), proved to be the undoing of the Government. Both these men were ambitious schemers, and plotted the overthrow of Godolphin and Marlborough. Harley had a cousin, Mrs Masham, whom he introduced into the royal circle with the object of undermining the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough. Then, in 1710, a political storm arose over a sermon preached in St Paul's Cathedral by Dr Sacheverell on the subject of toleration and the right of resistance. The ministry impeached Sacheverell for appearing to question the legality of the 'Glorious

¹ The Portuguese had signed the Methuen Treaty (1703) by which they became the allies of England. There was a commercial side to this treaty, Portuguese wine (port) was to be given a preference in England over that of France.

² Berwick was one of the ablest generals in the French service. He was an illegitimate son of James II and Arabella Churchill, Marlborough's sister.

Revolution' Immediately the cry 'The Church in danger' was raised, London mobs and Tory pamphlet writers combined to attack, in their different ways, the now unpopular ministry Sacheverell was condemned by a small majority of the House of Lords, and sentenced merely to three years suspension from preaching. Such a sentence was almost as good as an acquittal, and the doctor's supporters went wild with delight

Encouraged by the temper of the public, Harley decided to strike at his enemies. He persuaded the queen to dismiss Godolphin and the Whigs, she did so, and Harley became Prime Minister in effect (though the name was not yet in general use) ¹ 1710

A general election was then held (1710) and a large Tory majority was returned. Harley was made Earl of Oxford, and St. John, his right-hand man and a far abler statesman, became Lord Bolingbroke.

The first business of the Tories was to make peace. The war had become a stalemate, and the Tories refused to continue it merely in order to retain Marlborough in power. The queen was growing tired of the duchess and her tempers; the star of Mrs Masham was in the ascendant. There was certainly a great deal to be said in favour of peace, especially when, in 1711, the Emperor Joseph I died. His successor was his brother, the Archduke Charles, who became the Emperor Charles VI. There was clearly no purpose in continuing the war in order to make Charles king of Spain, and so unite Spain and Austria as in the days of Charles V. The allies had failed to dislodge Philip V from Spain itself, though they had conquered the Spanish provinces in Italy and the Netherlands. These points were made clear by the publication (in 1711) of Dean Swift's famous pamphlet, *The Conduct of the Allies*

Dean Swift was a Tory, and his virulent pen was at the service of the ministry. Swift is now best remembered as the author of *Gulliver's Travels*, but in his own day he was known and feared as a political writer. The publication of the *Conduct of the Allies* was his greatest triumph, it did much to procure the dismissal of the great Duke of Marlborough. Never in our

Fall of the
Godolphin
Ministry
1710

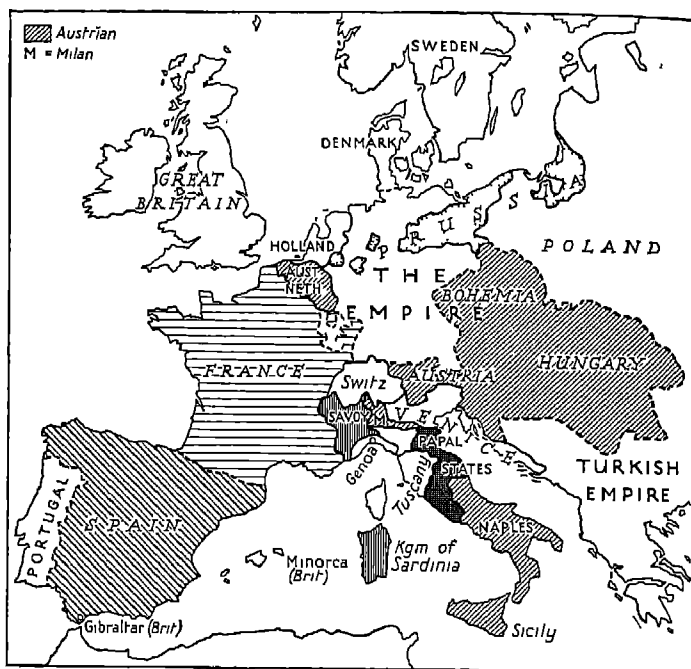
The Oxford
Ministry
1710-14

'The Con-
duct of the
Allies', 1711

Political
writers
under
Queen
Anne

¹ The name *Prime Minister* was occasionally used in Anne's reign in reference to Godolphin. Defoe, writing in 1714, twice speaks of Oxford as Prime Minister

history has so much literary talent been put to political uses as in the days of Queen Anne Richard Steele, an ex-army



EUROPE IN 1720

Map showing the Disruption of the Spanish Empire in Europe

By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Sicily went to the Duke of Savoy, Naples and Sardinia to Austria. In 1720 the two islands were exchanged, and the Duke of Savoy took the title of King of Sardinia. It was under the House of Savoy that all Italy was united in the nineteenth century. In 1735 Naples and Sicily became an independent kingdom, which lasted till 1860. The Austrian rule in Belgium and Milan lasted till the French Revolution.

officer, was an Irishman like Swift; he became a Whig pamphleteer and founder of the *Tatler* (1709) and the *Spectator* (1710). The *Spectator* was published daily, its most distinguished con-

tributor was Joseph Addison, a man who had a great influence in the development of English prose and the creator of Sir Roger de Coverley. Another writer of genius was Daniel Defoe,¹ of whom it has been said that he changed his politics as often as the queen changed her ministries. Such was the array of talent placed before the readers of Queen Anne's day when they opened their daily newspapers in their coffee-houses

Even before Marlborough was dismissed (1711), Oxford and Bolingbroke opened negotiations for peace with France behind his back, and behind the backs of their allies. The Duke of Ormonde, who succeeded Marlborough in command, had the humiliation of being obliged to order his troops to desert their old ally, Prince Eugène, in the hour of battle—for Oxford had already come to terms with Versailles. The other allies eventually came in, and a general peace was arranged at Utrecht (1713).

Dismissal of
Marl-
borough
1711

The Treaty of Utrecht is one of the great landmarks in British and European history. From it Britain emerged as first of the European powers. Her old enemy, King Louis, was humbled, for his career of conquest was at an end, and France was nearly bankrupt. The principal terms of the settlement were as follows:

The Treaty
of Utrecht
1713

1. The Allies acknowledged Philip V as King of Spain and of the Indies, on the understanding that he was to be excluded from the succession to the French throne.
2. Louis XIV threw over the Pretender, James III, and recognized the Protestant Succession in Great Britain.
3. The King of Spain resigned the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Sardinia, and Naples to the Emperor, and Sicily to the Duke of Savoy (see note to map opposite).
4. Britain received Gibraltar and Minorca in Europe, Acadie in North America, and the French gave up their claims to Hudson Bay and Newfoundland.
5. By a separate treaty Spain granted Britain the right of supplying the Spanish colonies with negro slaves. This was known as the *Asiento* Treaty, from the Spanish *asiento* (contract) *de negros*. She also allowed one British ship per year to trade in commodities, other than slaves, with Cartagena or Portobello on the Spanish Main.

Gibraltar,
Minorca,
Acadie,
and New-
foundland

The
Asiento
Treaty

¹ For *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), see Chapter XXIX.

It will be noted that the main object for which the Emperor had entered the war—to prevent the Bourbon Succession in Spain—was not achieved, nor was the main object of the Spanish people achieved, i.e. the preservation of an undivided Spanish Empire. Britain's chief object—the overthrow of the menace of Louis' power—was, however, accomplished. And the capture of Gibraltar was an important milestone on the road to Empire.

The Tories
attack their
enemies

Before they had finished making peace with France and Spain, the Tories turned, with no less willingness and considerably greater zest, to attack their enemies at home. Sir Robert Walpole, a young Whig member of the last ministry, and a future Prime Minister of Great Britain, was sent to the Tower on a charge of corruption (1712). Godolphin was dying, but such were the attacks in Parliament against Marlborough that the great general had to flee to the Netherlands and Germany, where he remained until the death of the queen and the fall of the Tories. So far could ingratitude, combined with party malice, lead Englishmen in the days of good Queen Anne. The Tories also began an attack on the Dissenters, who were Whigs to a man. A monstrous Schism Act, reminiscent of the English acts against the Irish, was passed through Parliament, by which all schools kept by Dissenters were to be suppressed.¹

Schism Act
1714

Bolingbroke
in power
July 1714

The failing health of the queen made the situation of the Tory ministry precarious. The Whigs were already in communication with George Lewis, Elector of Hanover, whose aged mother, the Dowager Electress Sophia, was Anne's heiress under the Act of Settlement. The Earl of Oxford could not make up his mind to prepare for the queen's death, though that event was evidently approaching. Bolingbroke therefore determined to get rid of Oxford, and he persuaded Anne to dismiss him. What Bolingbroke, now in control, would have done if he had had time will never be known. His enemies declared that he meant to restore the elder line of Stuarts in the person of 'James III', known to history as the Old Pretender. But Bolingbroke had no time to make any plans.

¹ The Schism Act was a dead letter: actually only two or three schools were closed. It remained on the Statute Book for five years.

he had been in power less than a week when the queen died (1 August 1714)

Death of
Anne
Aug 1714

The sudden death of Anne saved the Hanoverian succession. The Electress Sophia had died just before the queen, and Bolingbroke joined the Whigs in proclaiming the elector as George I of England. The new king landed in England in September, his first action was to dismiss Bolingbroke and instal the Whigs in power. Bolingbroke fled to France and joined the Pretender. The Whigs and Tories had struggled for power between 1688 and 1714, but now the Whigs were able to claim that they, and they alone, were the true upholders of the Revolution settlement. Just or unjust, this claim established them in power for half a century.

Accession
of
George I
1714



An eighteenth-century coffee-house, the centre of political discussions, and the origin of the modern club.

DATE SUMMARY WILLIAM AND MARY AND ANNE (1688-1714)

BRITISH ISLES

EUROPE

WILLIAM AND MARY (1689-1702)

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1688 THE REVOLUTION | |
| 1689 Bill of Rights | 1689-97 War of League of Augsburg |
| Toleration Act | |
| ✕ Killiecrankie | |
| Siege of Londonderry | |
| 1690 ✕ Boyne | |
| 1691 Siege of Limerick | |
| | 1692 ✕ Barfleur |
| 1692 Massacre of Glencoe | |
| 1694 Queen Mary <i>d</i> | |
| BANK OF ENGLAND founded | |
| 1695-9 Darien Scheme | 1697 Treaty of Ryswick |
| | 1698-9 Partition Treaties |
| | 1700 Charles II (Spain) <i>d</i> |
| 1701 Act of Settlement | 1701 Grand Alliance |
| James II <i>d</i> . | |
| 1702 William III <i>d</i> | |

ANNE (1702-14)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1703 Birth of Wesley | <i>War of the Spanish Succession</i> (1702-13) |
| | 1703 Methuen Treaty |
| | 1704 ✕ BLENHEIM |
| | Capture of GIBRALTAR |
| | 1705-11 Emperor Joseph I |
| | 1706 ✕ Ramillies |
| 1707 ACT OF UNION—ENGLAND
AND SCOTLAND | |
| | 1708 ✕ Oudenarde Capture of Minorca |
| | 1709 ✕ Malplaquet |
| 1710 The <i>Spectator</i> | |
| Handel in England | |
| 1710-14 Oxford Ministry | 1711-40 Emperor Charles VI |
| 1711 Dismissal of Marlborough | |
| 1714 Bolingbroke Ministry | 1713 TREATY OF UTRECHT |
| Anne <i>d</i> | |

XXVI

THE RULE OF THE WHIGS

I *Hanoverians and Jacobites*

THE Elector of Hanover, who became King George I of England in 1714 at the age of fifty-four, was not an attractive personality.¹ Like William of Orange, this German princeling had been summoned to the throne of England on religious and political grounds. He had none of the Dutchman's ability, but, like him, lacked all personal charm; his coldness, said a wit, would freeze his surroundings. His private life was one long scandal. He had quarrelled with his wife, Sophia Dorothea of Celle, condoned the murder of her lover, and shut her up for thirty years in a German castle till she died. Her son George, created Prince of Wales (1714), was on such bad terms with his father that the king tried to prevent his succeeding to the electorate, quarrels between father and son were unfortunately traditional in the Hanoverian family. Lacking a queen, George I brought with him from Germany the fat Countess of Kielmansegge and the thin Countess of Schulenberg, nicknamed in England the 'Elephant' and the 'Maypole'.²

George knew little of English politics, but he knew enough to realize that it was the Whigs who had put him on the throne, and the Whigs who proposed to keep him there. This fact was so firmly impressed on the minds of the first two Georges that no Tory ministry was appointed during their reigns, a period of nearly fifty years (1714-60). In 1714, when Oxford and other leading Tories were impeached for treason against the Hanoverian dynasty, Bolingbroke fled to France,

¹ 'Brusque, heartless, cruel, avaricious, mean, sensual, punctilious, and masterful' (Grant Robertson, *England under the Hanoverians*)

² 'Both these ladies loved Hanover and its delights and at first would not quit the place. Schulenberg, in fact, could not come on account of her debts, but finding the Maypole would not come, the Elephant packed up her trunks and slipped out of Hanover, unwieldy as she was. On this the Maypole straightway put herself in motion, and followed her beloved George Lewis' (Thackeray, *The Four Georges*)

and with his departure the Tory party was discredited and leaderless

The
'Fifteen

Even the Whigs could not pretend to feel any affection for such a king as George I, while to most of the Tories his occupation of the throne was an outrage. A Jacobite¹ plot was hatched in France to overthrow the Hanoverian succession, and place Prince James Edward, the Old Pretender, on the throne. Scotland was chosen as the point of attack on account of the supposed loyalty of the Highland clans to the Stuart cause.² There, in September 1715, the Jacobite Rebellion broke out. It was led by the Earl of Mar, an unsteady personage known as 'Bobbing John'. Mar raised the Highlands, occupied Perth, and proclaimed James III and VIII king. A Jacobite force crossed the Border, and was joined by a few Englishmen, but was surrounded and taken prisoner at Preston (13 November).

Preston and
Sheriffmuir
1715

On the same day occurred an engagement between Mar and Argyll at Sheriffmuir, rendered famous by the story (not without some foundation) that both sides ran away. After the battle Mar retired to Perth, and enthusiasm for the rebellion died down. It was not increased by the arrival of the Old Pretender in Scotland (December), for he was a man of cold and unsympathetic manners, a hopeless leader for a failing cause. His loyalty to his religion—which he refused to change to become King of Great Britain—made it unlikely that many except Highlanders would join him. After a few months he returned to France, to spend the wandering life which earned him the name of 'Roving Jamie'. The rebellion was an ignominious failure, and its collapse strengthened the hands of the government. For many years the name Tory was synonymous with Jacobite, and Jacobite with traitor. This was far from just. But the very accusation was enough to discredit the Tory cause.

The Whigs were thus firmly established in power in 1715.

¹ The name was derived from that of the Old Pretender—James (Latin, Jacobus).

² It is doubtful whether the Highland clans would have remained loyal to any dynasty or any principle. They were warlike, and disliked government from England—in fact strong government from anywhere. Above all, they hated the Whig Campbells.

Their leaders were Lord Sunderland, Marlborough's son-in-law, James, Earl Stanhope, the soldier who had captured Minorca in the last war, Charles, Viscount Townshend (the 'Turnip Townshend' of agriculture), and Sir Robert Walpole. Townshend and Walpole quarrelled with their colleagues, and were dismissed in 1717, and Stanhope became the leading minister for the next four years (1717-21). It was during this time that the foundations of the Whig oligarchy were firmly laid, Walpole, who ruled England for twenty years, carried on the same traditions of government.

The rule of the Whigs depended on two things, control of the Crown, and control of the House of Commons. The first was made easy by the fact that the first Hanoverian kings had no possible alternative to a Whig ministry. In addition to this, George I spoke no English, and could scarcely preside at meetings of the Cabinet. Both he and his son, George II, were more attached to Hanover than to England,¹ and let the Whigs rule England in their name. This meant that one powerful weapon was put in the hands of ministers—the patronage of the Crown. Ambitious men in the Church, the Army and Navy, and the legal profession knew that they could rise to the highest posts only by remaining sound Whigs, civil servants in government pay were chosen and promoted on the same principle. This system, which lasted till George III became king, was one of the main bulwarks of the Whig supremacy.

The other pillar of the system was the control of Parliament.² The Whigs had a majority in the Lords, and they took measures to obtain and keep a majority in the House of Commons. About a quarter of the Commons—sometimes more—could be accounted for by 'placemen', that is, members of Parliament

¹ George I was very anxious to get back to Hanover at the first opportunity. He insisted on the repeal of the clause in the Act of Settlement which forbade the sovereign to leave England without the consent of Parliament. He was in such a hurry to go (in 1716) that the Earl of Peterborough sarcastically remarked 'I believe the king has quite forgotten the misfortune that befell himself and his family on August 1st, 1714.'

² After the passage of the Septennial Act (1716) a new Parliament had to be elected at least once in seven years. This Act remained in force till 1911.

who held minor posts on condition of continuing to vote for the government. The number of such posts was large, and the duties attached to them small, but the Whigs thought that the more posts—and votes—there were the better. Apart from members who were thus bribed to vote for the government, it was possible to control the election of members in a large number of seats. In the eighteenth century the vast majority of the House of Commons was elected by the English boroughs, and these may be divided into the free, the rotten, and the nomination boroughs. There were only a very few instances of free boroughs—places like Westminster where there was a wide franchise, and the electors could not so easily be bribed. The rotten boroughs were towns where a few hundred men, whose rights depended on local custom, had the vote, these men were systematically bribed by the local agent. This process was carried a stage farther in the 'nomination boroughs', where the owner simply nominated the member. The election of county members was more difficult to control, but here again the influence of local landlords was predominant.

Elections were an expensive business for both sides. Mr Thomas Pitt, agent for His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, estimated the expenses of the elections at Grampound and Tregony, two tiny Cornish boroughs, at £1,200 and £1,050, respectively (1747). 'It must cost', says this gentleman, writing of a Grampound election, 'damnably dear. The villains have got ahead to that degree and rise in their demands so extravagantly that I have been very near damning them and kicking them to the devil at once. The dirty rascals despise 20 guineas as much as the King's Sergeant does a half-guinea fee.'

Results of
the old
Election
System

Such was the system on which England was governed. In spite of its obvious lack of morality, it did not produce bad men. Borough-mongers and bribers of electors were at least free to choose their own candidates, and sometimes they chose well; they took a pride in selecting young men of talent to represent them. It is quite arguable that such a system produced a House of Commons as efficient as that returned by universal suffrage. And the members returned were not all mere place-hunters, some of them were able men who



THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE

Playing cards satirizing the mania for speculation

took the only path open to them to enter the service of their country

Tory
influences

It must not be supposed that the Tories were any less corrupt than the Whigs, they were only less successful—up to 1760—because the Whigs had the patronage of the Crown behind them, and because the Whig leaders were richer. The Whig party machine was in the hands of an oligarchy of rich noblemen—the Pelhams, the Russells, the Cavendishes, and others—whose wealth frequently enabled them to outbid the local Tories, though, of course, a substantial minority of Tories was always returned. And though the Whig oligarchy dominated the central government, the local government of the country-side was dominated by the squires, who were mainly Tories. The squires, as Justices of the Peace—unpaid—administered the country-side and drew their power from local influence. So the power of the Whig oligarchy at the centre was limited by the power of the squires, mainly Tory, at the circumference.

Stanhope
Foreign
Minister
1717-21

The Whigs under George I made an important change in the direction of English foreign policy. Louis XIV had died in 1715, and the ministers of the young Louis XV concluded a peaceful alliance with England, for which Stanhope was largely responsible. By the inclusion of Holland, this agreement became the Triple Alliance (1718), which kept England at peace with France for a quarter of a century. Not until colonial rivalry became acute was the alliance broken.

The South
Sea Bubble
1720

It was a financial crisis which brought about Stanhope's fall and paved the way for the rise of Walpole. The gambling spirit was rife in the eighteenth century, and finance was even less understood by the public than it is to-day. The South Sea Company had been founded by Harley in 1711, after the Peace of Utrecht it received the monopoly of the trade with Spanish America, under the Asiento Treaty (see p 573). Its trade was never really profitable, but in spite of this fact the company offered to take over from the government 31 millions of the National Debt. The scheme was opposed in Parliament by a minority, of whom Walpole was one. But the company gained the confidence of the country, which it did not deserve, and its stock rose to fantastic heights. By June 1720, £100 South Sea Stock reached its highest figure—£1,060. Then came the

reaction; a panic as sudden as the former speculating mania set in, by December South Sea Stock had fallen to £135. Thousands of people of all classes were ruined, the South Sea Bubble had burst.

Some relief was obtained by distributing the private property of the directors, to the amount of £2,000,000, but there was a universal outcry for revenge. Ministers were involved in the proceedings, and the government fell, one minister, Craggs, committed suicide. One man had been distinguished by his opposition to the South Sea scheme from the first—Sir Robert Walpole. He accordingly stepped into the leading place in the ministry, a position which he was to hold for twenty years.

Fall of the
Ministry
1721

2 *Sir Robert Walpole*

Sir Robert Walpole came of a long line of Norfolk squires, and was third of a family of nineteen children. He was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, and, after the deaths of his father and two elder brothers, succeeded to the family estates. Walpole had all the vices of the eighteenth-century country gentleman, his manners were coarse, and he had few intellectual pleasures—none to compare with his chief delight, which was hunting. He had a low opinion of human nature, and took a cynical pleasure in distributing the various bribes, in the shape of titles, places, and pensions, to the members of his party.¹ But in this respect he was no worse than the Whigs who preceded him, and better than the Whigs who followed him, in office. Walpole was more than a great parliamentary manager, he was a great minister. He loved his work, and he gave himself up to it with all the devotion and quiet persistence of a successful man of business.

Character
of Walpole

Walpole succeeded to power after eighty years of revolutions: old men still living could remember the battle of Worcester, the death of Cromwell, the Restoration, the Popish Plot, and the landing of William of Orange. Walpole gave England twenty years of what she most needed—quiet government.

End of
the Revolution-
ary era

¹ He accepted the Order of the Garter for himself. In this he was unlike Lord Melbourne (Victoria's first Prime Minister), who refused the Garter, saying that he did not see why he should be such a fool as to buy himself when he could buy some one else with it. (See Morley's *Walpole*.)

The year he fell from power (1742) was the hundredth anniversary of Edgehill, the first battle of the Civil War, he had done much to change England into the quiet land she still is. Englishmen under Walpole were not filled with the high religious principles of the seventeenth century, but they were not so ready to cut each others' throats. George I recalled Bolingbroke from exile, Bolingbroke was not beheaded, nor was any other politician of those times. Under Walpole, English politics lost something of their former fierceness. The steadiness of England, and her dislike of violent revolutions, are things which we now take for granted, we owe much of them to the change which took place under Sir Robert Walpole.

Peace
policy

England needed rest from war as much as from revolution, and Walpole gave it her. He maintained the alliance with France and kept on good terms with the aged French minister, Cardinal Fleury, who loved peace as much as Sir Robert. Walpole refused to embark on continental wars, and once remarked with pride (during the War of the Polish Succession) 'Fifty thousand men killed this year in Europe, and not one of them an Englishman.'

The Prime
Minister
and the
Cabinet

Walpole's place in the history of English government is an important one. The British Constitution is not the work of one man or a single generation, it is the slow growth of time. Perhaps even Walpole, who did so much to shape our form of government, was not aware of what he did. But in his day Cabinet government assumed some of the characteristics it still retains. This result was due to an accident—the accident that Walpole was minister when George I was king. Given a masterful man like Walpole, and a German-speaking king who could not preside at the Cabinet, and the office of Prime Minister came into being of its own accord. The name Prime Minister was not recognized for a long time, and Walpole himself repudiated the title, yet he was as much Prime Minister as any man who ruled after him. The premiership, it has been said, is the keystone to the Cabinet arch. The premier to-day chooses his own colleagues, and he, not the king, is the real head of the executive government. All this was foreshadowed under Walpole's rule.

In England the executive government is responsible to

Parliament, and cannot long remain in power unless it can command a majority in the House of Commons. This result has usually¹ been attained by forming the Cabinet from one party, the party which is in the majority in the Commons. This system also was coming to be recognized in Walpole's day—hence his anxiety to keep his majority by methods of corruption. But, under the early Georges, the Crown still retained the right of dismissing ministries, whether they had the confidence of the House or not. The ministry, in fact, was responsible first to the king, and secondly to the House of Commons, to-day this situation in practice is reversed. The importance of the king's wishes was clearly shown when George II succeeded his father in 1727. Since George I had loved Sir Robert Walpole, it was only natural to suppose that George II would hate him—and hate him at first he did. His hostility might have proved fatal to Walpole's power but for the fact that the minister had carefully provided for the future. He had enlisted the help of George II's strong-minded wife, Caroline of Anspach, she and Sir Robert became great friends, and George II, with good reason, trusted the queen's judgement. Besides, Walpole had only met one man who could resist the power of money, and that man was certainly not George II. When Sir Robert announced that the Civil List² would be increased by £100,000, His Majesty's favour was assured.

Powers of
the Crown

Death of
George I
1727

George II
and Queen
Caroline

Another feature of English Cabinet government is the collective responsibility of the whole Cabinet, and this involves the agreement of various ministers with the Prime Minister on major points of policy. Here again Walpole shaped the outline of the Constitution, for he would have no ministers who would not work, not merely with him, but under him. His brother-in-law, Lord Townshend, shared his return to power in 1721, but the firm, as Walpole said, had to be Walpole and Townshend, not Townshend and Walpole. Townshend resented the other's supremacy, quarrelled with him, and resigned (1730).

Walpole's
colleagues

¹ The same result can be obtained by a coalition of two or more parties, all represented in the Cabinet, and voting together in the House of Commons.

² Civil List—the part of the revenue set apart for the king's use. The Civil List under George I had amounted to £700,000.

He retired to grow turnips in Norfolk, we shall hear of him again

Bolingbroke
and the
Opposition

Walpole's monopoly of central power naturally created an Opposition, and one that was not formed on strictly party lines. It consisted of discontented Whigs as well as Tories, the prime mover was Bolingbroke, who returned to England in 1725 and directed the attacks on Walpole for ten years. Bolingbroke also issued a paper, called the *Craftsman*. He lashed out against the Minister in brilliant and vindictive articles, he called Walpole 'the brazen image which the king hath set up'. Lord Carteret, a Whig, was another able member of the Opposition group. In George II's reign Frederick, Prince of Wales, joined the group for no better reason than that his father, the king, supported Sir Robert. The prince was a fool, and it was beyond even Bolingbroke's powers to make him into a leader. Yet his adherence took the sting out of Walpole's criticism that his opponents were all Jacobites.

The Excise
Bill, 1733

Sir Robert's enemies scored their first considerable triumph when they forced him to withdraw his Excise Bill¹ (1733). Walpole had retained the confidence of the trading classes and the bankers ever since the days of the South Sea Bubble, and he was able to keep taxation low. The Excise Bill, however, raised a political storm, as absurd as it was violent. The Bill contained a proposal to collect the duties on spirits and tobacco in the shops and inns at which these articles were sold, instead of at the ports. This simple proposal, which would have helped to check smuggling, roused a tremendous outcry, of which the Opposition took full advantage. It was alleged that the new Excise would lead to the employment of numerous officials, who would employ the hateful method of raiding private houses to collect the tax. Crowds marched about the streets, crying, 'No slavery, no excise!' Walpole was not the man to resist popular clamour; he gave way and abandoned the scheme. It was a victory for noise and jealous faction over sound finance and common sense.

In 1735 Bolingbroke quarrelled with his Whig friends and retired from active politics. He retired to write his *Patriot King*, a counter-blow to the Whig theory of monarchy, and an

¹ See illustration, p. 595

inspiration to the future occupant of the throne—not, as it turned out, Prince Frederick, but his son George III.¹ In the same year that Bolingbroke retired, an even more formidable figure entered Parliament—William Pitt

Pitt was at this time twenty-seven years of age. He was the grandson of Governor Pitt of Madras, who had amassed a large fortune in India, which he spent in buying estates and pocket-boroughs in England. William Pitt was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Oxford. He obtained a commission in a cavalry regiment, and then entered Parliament (1735). He sat for the family borough of Old Sarum (near Salisbury) which contained few, if any, inhabitants. He at once joined the Opposition, and made a great impression by his first speech in Parliament. 'We must muzzle this terrible cornet of horse', remarked Walpole, and struck his name off the Army List. But it required more than a Walpole to muzzle Pitt, indeed, nothing short of death could silence that amazing oratory, perhaps the most remarkable to which the House of Commons has ever listened. His eloquence was a superb art, no actor ever played upon the feelings of his audience with greater skill than did Pitt. 'The terrible', said one contemporary, 'was his peculiar power, then the whole House sank before him.' 'His words', remarked Lord Lyttelton, 'have sometimes frozen my young blood into stagnation, and sometimes made it pace in such a hurry through my veins that I could scarce support it.' His subjects were as magnificent as his methods—'great subjects, great empires, great characters'. Such was the man who joined the ranks of the Opposition to the ageing Walpole. In his hands lay the future of Britain and the British Empire.

3 *War—Spanish, French, and Jacobite*

The death of Queen Caroline (1737) was a heavy blow to Walpole, he had lost a friend at Court who might have proved a useful ally in the stormy years that lay ahead. The quiet period was passing, 'Let sleeping dogs lie' had been Walpole's

¹ See below, p. 618. The *Patriot King* was written in 1738, but not published till 1749, two years before the death of the author and of Frederick, Prince of Wales.

motto, but they would not sleep for ever War, which Walpole detested, was about to break on Britain.

We have seen how, under the Asiento Treaty of 1713, the British were allowed to supply Spanish America with slaves, and also to send *one* ship a year to the Spanish Main for other trade. But the British had for long been infringing this treaty by sending uncensured trading-ships into West Indian ports. The Spanish authorities were angry, and tried to catch the offenders They caught one Captain Jenkins, and—according to his own story—cut off one of his ears His return to England with this story aroused a storm of indignation, he was brought before the House of Commons and produced his ear in a bottle The Opposition demanded war with Spain Walpole tried to settle the matter peaceably, but national feeling was too strong for him Many people were convinced that an attack on the Spanish Empire would be an easy and profitable business So Walpole, as usual, gave way, and declared war against his better judgement 'They are ringing their bells now,' he remarked, as the bells of London announced the news, 'they will be wringing their hands soon'

War with
Spain, 1739

The War of Jenkins' Ear is chiefly remarkable in being the first of that series of wars against France and Spain which lasted three-quarters of a century Philip V had, in 1733, signed the Family Compact with his nephew Louis XV, linking the two Bourbon powers together in a defensive alliance The war which England so lightly declared against Spain in 1739 therefore led to a French war Thus, as we shall see in the next chapter, was the signal for the outbreak of a general colonial war

The Spanish war met with little of the success which its supporters had prophesied Attacks on Spanish ports yielded little profit Even the gallant exploit of Admiral Anson, who imitated Drake by sailing round the world, attacking Spanish ports on the way, did not much affect the issue Meanwhile, Walpole was blamed for the ill success of the war which he had done all he could to avoid In 1742 he was defeated in the Commons on a minor issue, and resigned Among the charges afterwards made against him was that he had called himself Prime Minister, an office which was declared to be unknown to

Anson's
Voyage
1740

Resignation
of Walpole
1742

the British Constitution. He retired to the Lords as Earl of Orford, and died three years later.

The new administration was called the Broad-bottom Ministry, because it was supposed to be a 'national' government including men of all parties. The Earl of Wilmington was its nominal head, but its most influential members were Henry Pelham and Lord Carteret. It was Carteret, backed by the fiery little king, George II, who plunged England into the war which was now raging on the Continent—the War of the Austrian Succession.

The Emperor Charles VI had no son to succeed him as ruler of the Hapsburg dominions in Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, and Belgium. But before he died he obtained a promise—called the Pragmatic Sanction—from the leading European powers that his daughter, Maria Theresa, should be acknowledged as Queen of Hungary and ruler of his other possessions.¹ Charles died (October 1740), and Maria Theresa ascended the Hapsburg throne. The new King of Prussia, Frederick II (the Great), who had succeeded his father six months earlier, sent her friendly messages, and even a promise of military help in case of need. Yet less than two months later, without the slightest provocation or excuse, he led 30,000 troops across the Austrian frontier. In a few months he had overrun the province of Silesia, which Maria Theresa was unable to save from his clutches.

In the general European war which followed, France joined Frederick. George II personally headed an army of English and Hanoverians which came to the aid of Maria Theresa. He won the battle of Dettingen (1743), being the last English king to lead his troops in battle. There was a loud outcry against the war in the country and in Parliament, led by Pitt. England, Pitt said, was being dragged into a war in which she had no concern, in the interests of that 'despicable electorate'.

¹ Maria Theresa, of course, could not succeed Charles as Emperor. She hoped, however, that her husband, Francis of Lorraine, would be elected. But the Elector of Bavaria, who had married her cousin, was elected instead. When he died her husband was elected as Emperor Francis I (1745), and their descendants continued to hold the Imperial title.

—Hanover The clamour was so great that Carteret had to retire Henry Pelham, head of one of the great Whig families, was now the virtual Prime Minister, a position which he held for eleven years (1743-54)

Pelham
Prime
Minister
1743-54

The war in Germany was at first fought by France and England as 'auxiliaries' to the main combatants But England was also at war with Spain, who was France's ally, and Louis XV formally declared war on Great Britain in 1744

Anglo-
French
War
1744-8

This war lasted four years. There was further fighting in Germany, but the Austrians failed to dislodge Frederick from Silesia. When peace was made at Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) he kept the province, and ever since¹ it has been part of Prussia. The French restored Madras to England in exchange for Louisbourg in Canada, which the British colonists had captured²

Treaty of
Aix-la-
Chapelle
1748

In the midst of the French war the Jacobites made one final bid for the throne The Old Pretender did not come in person to make this attempt, but sent instead his son, Charles Edward, the Young Chevalier—the Bonnie Prince Charlie of Scottish history and song Prince Charles, unlike his father, was a good leader, the enthusiasm which he inspired among the Highlanders did not die down in one generation But tragedy waited on the Stuart cause as so often it had before

The
'Forty-five

The Prince landed at Moidart in the West Highlands (August 1745), and the clansmen flocked to his standard Soon all Scotland was at his feet The gallant young prince won all hearts by his noble bearing and his willingness to share the hardships of his men, for he slept in the heather like a common soldier In September the bells of Edinburgh rang out to welcome him. Then he routed an English army under Sir John Cope at Prestonpans and it seemed as though the rebellion was about to succeed

Preston-
pans, 1745

Two things, however, were against it, the French, cut off by the British Navy, sent no help, and the English Jacobites did not rise. Nevertheless, Charles Edward invaded England He took Carlisle, and Manchester, and by December he was at Derby There was a panic in the capital, and a run on the Bank But King George refused to be disturbed—'Pooh! Don't talk

The
Pretender
at Derby

¹ Except for the part given to Poland after the Great War

² See next Chapter

to me that stuff!' he said, when it was suggested he should leave London. Just before Christmas, however, the prince was forced to turn back, for his Highlanders would go no farther. Their enthusiasm was chilled by the lack of response in England, and discipline was sadly lacking on the retreat. The Highlanders won one more victory at Falkirk (January 1746), then they retreated to their hills. The prince was bitterly disappointed, but he went with them. A royalist army was sent north in the spring, under William, Duke of Cumberland, King George's son. He broke the Highland army on Culloden Moor (April 1746), the prince stayed till all was lost and then fled to the hills. For months he lay in hiding amid the humble Highland folk, who would not give him up for the reward which the government offered for his capture and which would have meant riches to them. Many tales are told of him and of those, like the heroic Flora Macdonald, who shielded him. At last he escaped and landed safely in France.

Will ye no come back again?
 Will ye no come back again?
 Better lo'ed ye canna be,
 Will ye no come back again?

Ye trusted in your Hieland men,
 They trusted you, dear Charlie,
 They kent your hiding in the glen,
 Your deadin' was but barely

English bribes were a' in vain,
 An' e'en tho' puirer we maun be,
 Siller canna buy the heart
 That beats aye for thine and thee.¹

But 'Bonnie Charlie' never returned to Scotland, forty years later he died a broken man and an exile.

The royal duke put down the rebellion with that severity which earned him the name of 'Butcher Cumberland', his red-coats hunted down the fugitives. A young officer called James Wolfe—whom we shall hear of again—told Cumberland to his face that he would not order his men to do the 'butcher's

¹ The first, third, and fourth verses of 'Will ye no come back again'.
 By Baroness Nairne, also author of 'Caller Herrin'.

work' But 'Sweet William' as the English called him—and named a flower after him (which the Scots called 'Stinking Billy')—did his work but too well.

Subjection
of the
Highlands

The subjection of the Highlands followed.¹ It was impossible to permit the continued existence of a barbaric society in Great Britain in the eighteenth century. Laws were passed to forbid the wearing of the tartan and the kilt, and the carrying of arms; even the bagpipes were reckoned as 'instruments of war'. Besides this, the old clan system was forcibly abolished, the chiefs became landlords on the English model—and very bad landlords they proved to be. Some of them turned their old followers out of their smallholdings, and made the glens into sheep-runs, thirty thousand Highlanders left their ancient homes and sought refuge in America (before the War of American Independence)

In spite of these hardships, southern manners gradually made an impression in the Highlands, and Great Britain at last became one civilized country. Perhaps nothing did so much to propitiate Highland sentiment as the wise decision of Pitt, when he came to power, to raise Highland regiments and to allow them to fight in their national costume. Within a dozen years of Culloden, the Highlanders were fighting for King George in America with as much gusto as they had once fought for the Young Chevalier in their native hills

4. *Pitt's Rise to Power*

Two years before the end of the French war Pitt was given a minor post under the government (1746). The Whig lords found him too dangerous as an opponent, and they at last persuaded King George to give him the post of Paymaster of the Forces. It was some time before the king gave way, for he bitterly resented Pitt's contemptuous references to Hanover. In office, Pitt startled England by haughtily refusing to take the perquisites, amounting to thousands of pounds a year, which had usually been attached to the office of Paymaster. It was thus,

Pitt in
office

¹ The subjection of the Highlands was made easier by the fact that a road system now existed in Scotland. The new roads had been planned by English engineers and the work carried out by troops under the command of Marshal Wade (1726-37).

more than anything else, which distinguished Pitt from the old Whigs and earned him the respect and love of his countrymen. He became known as the 'Great Commoner', who openly despised the old corrupt methods of government. But the Whig party machine still creaked on, though it would not last many years longer.

Henry Pelham's ministry (1743-54) is almost bare of events of note, except the 'Forty-Five' Rebellion already described. It was this ministry which at last agreed to the reform of the calendar, substituting for the old Julian Calendar (introduced into Europe by Julius Caesar) the Gregorian (introduced by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582), which for over a century had been in general use on the Continent. There was eleven days' difference between the two calendars, and when the change was made, 2 September was followed by 14 September 1752. This gave rise to the popular cry 'Give us back our eleven days!' Another change was that 1 January became New Year's Day, instead of 25 March as formerly.¹

Reform of
the
Calendar

In 1754 Henry Pelham died. 'Now I shall have no more peace,' said the king, and he was right. Pelham had been a good party manager, and his place was difficult to fill. He was succeeded as Prime Minister by his brother, the Duke of Newcastle. Newcastle had been a Secretary of State since 1724, he was in office altogether for nearly fifty years. One of the richest men in England, and a staunch Hanoverian, he had been made a duke by George I. He devoted his immense fortune to the Whig party funds, and had a passion for 'managing' the House of Commons. But he was timid and vacillating, and totally unfitted to be Prime Minister of England. Newcastle feared Pitt, yet would not admit him into the Cabinet. Henry Fox (father of the great Whig statesman, Charles James Fox) became Secretary of State, but Pitt, though still Paymaster of the Forces, harassed the Government at every turn. Finally Newcastle plucked up courage to dismiss him (1755). But his own power was coming to an end in the shadow of a war which he knew not how to avoid or control.

Duke of
Newcastle's
Ministry
1754-6

¹ The names of the months, September, October, November, December, the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth months of the year by the old reckoning, still remind us of the Julian Calendar.

Diplomatic
Revolution
in Europe

After the end of the War of the Austrian Succession, Maria Theresa plotted a revenge on the King of Prussia. Her agents persuaded the Court of Versailles to change sides, she also made an alliance with Russia. Frederick, realizing that a formidable coalition for the partition of Prussia was being formed, looked around for allies. He found one in his uncle, King George II, who had fought against him in the last war. The prime mover in this diplomatic revolution was the Austrian minister, Kaunitz, but when it became known that France was about to change sides, England changed too. Colonial rivalry alone made it impossible that she should fight on the French side. The alliance between Great Britain and Prussia was signed in January 1756, that between France and the Empress in the following May. This was Newcastle's greatest triumph, the alliance with the formidable Frederick of Prussia proved to be very valuable to England in the coming conflict.

Treaty of
Westmin-
ster, 1756

Outbreak of
the Seven
Years War
1756

Frederick was aware that the Elector of Saxony had concluded a secret alliance with Austria. He therefore acted with characteristic suddenness; he invaded Saxony and occupied Dresden. Since Saxony lay between his own kingdom and the Austrian dominions, he was thus able to begin the war with a buffer-state between Prussia and her chief enemy. So the Seven Years War began (1756). Fighting had already broken out between the French and British in India and America.

The outbreak of war in Europe, which was followed by an Anglo-French war in three continents,¹ overwhelmed the wretched Prime Minister of England. The mismanagement of our army and navy caused disasters in the first year of the war, and Newcastle at last resigned, having been continuously in office for thirty-nine years. The king was persuaded to overcome his objections to the Great Commoner, and a ministry was formed, including Pitt, with the Duke of Devonshire at its head (December 1756-April 1757). But Pitt found that he could not manage the House of Commons without the help of the Whig party machine—which meant the help of Newcastle. So a new ministry was formed (June 1757) which included both the duke and Pitt. Newcastle managed the Commons, and left the conduct of the war—of whose vast issues he had but the

The Pitt-
Newcastle
Ministry
1757-61

¹ See next Chapter

faintest conception—to his great colleague. It was not a moment too soon. Called to rule his country in a dark hour of her fortunes, Pitt, in a few years, changed the history of Britain and of the world. He inspired his countrymen with his own great faith in their future, and he was the real creator of the British Empire. His famous words on being called to power, though not remarkable for their modesty, contained the sober truth 'I know that I can save the country, and that no one else can!'



The Excise Bill, 1733 (see p. 586). A contemporary cartoon ridiculing the Bill, showing the Lion and the Unicorn yoked to a beer barrel.

DATE SUMMARY · THE WHIGS (1714-56)

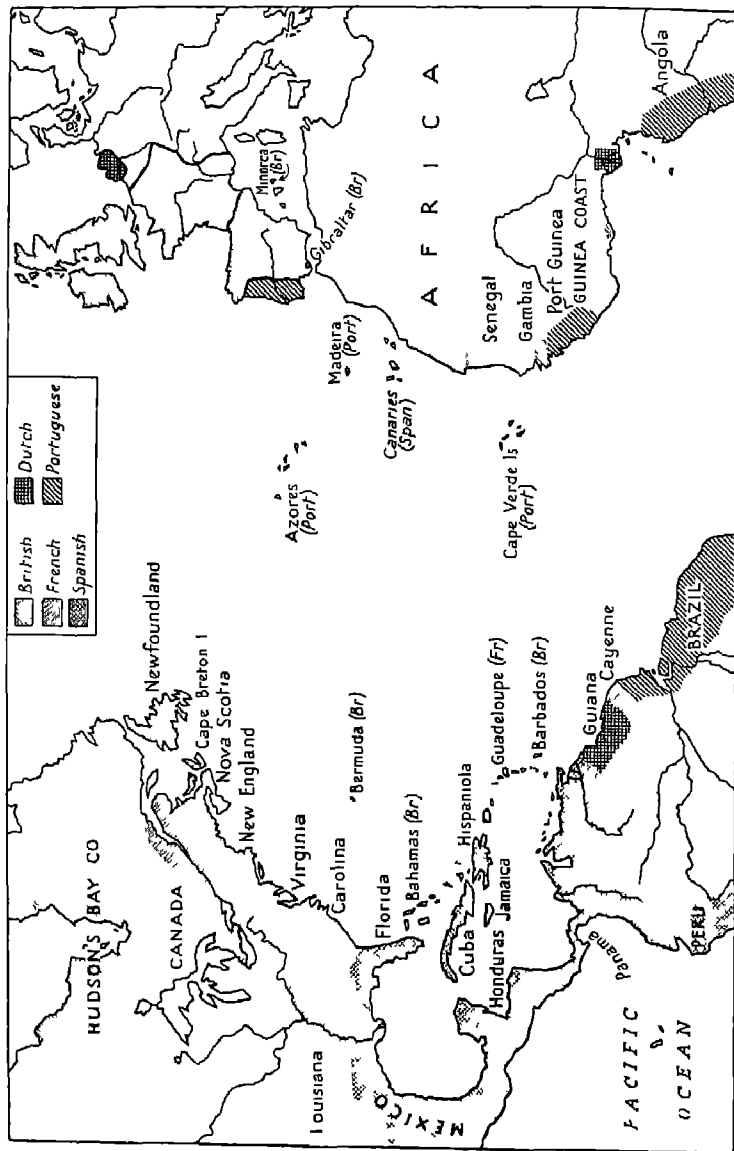
ENGLAND (POLITICAL)	ENGLAND (SOCIAL AND LITERARY)	EUROPE, AMERICA, AND INDIA
THE WHIGS BEFORE WALPOLE (1714-21)		
1714-27 George I		1715 Louis XIV <i>d</i>
1714-20 First Whig Ministry		1715-74 Louis XV
1715 Jacobite Rebellion		1717 Triple Alliance (Britain, Holland, France)
1717 Stanhope, chief minister	1719 <i>Robinson Crusoe</i>	
1720 South Sea Bubble		

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE (1721-42)

	1723 Sir Christopher Wren <i>d</i>	1725 Peter the Great <i>d</i>
	1726 <i>Gulliver's Travels</i>	
1727-60 George II	1728 <i>The Beggar's Opera</i>	
	1732 Pope's <i>Essay on Man</i>	1732 Georgia founded
1733 Excise Bill	Kay's Shuttle	1733 Family Compact (France and Spain)
1737 Queen Caroline <i>d</i>	1739 First Methodist Society	1739 Anglo-Spanish War
		1740 Frederick the Great <i>acc</i>
		Emperor Charles VI <i>d</i>
1742 Walpole resigns		1740-8 War of Austrian Succession

WALPOLE'S SUCCESSORS (1742-56)

1742-3 Broad-bottom Ministry		1744-8 Anglo-French War
1743-54 Henry Pelham's Ministry		1742-54 Dupleix in India
		1745 Clive in India
1745 Jacobite Rebellion		1748 Treaty Aix-la-Chapelle
1746 ✕ Culloden	1749 <i>Tom Jones</i> (Fielding)	
	1749 <i>The Patriot King</i> (Bolingbroke)	1751 Siege of Arcot
	1752 Reform of the Calendar	1753 Fort Duquesne (Canada)
1754-6 Duke of Newcastle's Ministry	1753 Johnson's <i>Dictionary</i>	1755 French defeat Braddock
	1756 Macadam born	1756 Treaty of Westminster (England and Prussia)
		Black Hole of Calcutta



9 COLONIAL EMPIRES OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

XXVII

RIVAL EMPIRES

I *Britain and France*

WE have seen, in a former chapter,¹ how the five maritime powers of western Europe all possessed colonial empires in the eighteenth century. Of these five powers, the two smaller and weaker, Portugal and Holland, were the first to drop out of the colonial race; the struggle between the remaining three, Britain, France, and Spain, took place in the eighteenth century. France and Spain fought together against their common enemy, Britain, they were allies in the War of the Spanish Succession, and their alliance was renewed by several Family Compacts, of which the first was signed in 1733.

The war of 'Jenkins' Ear' against Spain was, as we have seen, a colonial quarrel, caused by a British infringement of the Treaty of Utrecht. It led, within five years, to a war with France (1744-8), which proved to be but the preliminary round of a great contest which lasted for two generations. England's main concern was not with the tropical empire of Spain, our chief rival was France, and the French and British Empires were about to engage in a struggle to the death.

The French Empire was very similar to our own. Our rivals had trading posts, as we had, in India, where in the time of Dupleix and Clive the battle for supremacy was fought out. India was a problem in itself, the other main theatre, both of trade and war, was the Atlantic. On the eastern side of that ocean lay the home countries and the West African slave-markets, on the western side, North America and the West Indian sugar isles. In Africa the English had several slave-trading posts, of which Gambia was the chief, the French held the mouth of the Senegal, and Goree near by. In the West Indies the French held the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique, and had established a colony on the island of Hispaniola, called Haiti. By the middle of the eighteenth century Haiti

Colonial
rivalry of
Britain and
France

The French
Empire

West Africa

West Indies

¹ Chapter XXII

was exporting twice as much sugar as Jamaica; Guadeloupe and Martinique did more trade than the English island of Barbados.

North
America

In North America the British gained, at the Peace of Utrecht, the French colony of Acadie, renamed Nova Scotia. They now held the whole Atlantic coast-line, with the exception of Florida, which belonged to Spain. In 1732 Georgia, the thirteenth and last British colony in America, was founded, just north of Florida, by General James Oglethorpe. The general was a philanthropist who was rightly disgusted at the state of the English prisons, he tried to give a few thousand ex-prisoners the chance to start life afresh in the New World.

Georgia
1732

The foundation of Georgia was resented by the Spanish in Florida, who attacked the new colony, but were driven off.

The French were by no means daunted by the losses they had sustained at Utrecht, which gave their rivals Acadie, Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay. Their position was indeed strong, for they held a commanding position in three areas—the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the basin of the St. Lawrence, and the Mississippi Valley. In the Gulf they held the mainland coast and all the islands, with the exception of Newfoundland. For, though they had lost Acadie, they still retained the Île de St. Jean, and the Île Royale—later known as Prince Edward Isle—and Cape Breton Isle. On the latter island they proceeded, soon after Utrecht, to erect the strongest fortress in North

Louisbourg

America—Louisbourg—to command the entrance to the Gulf (1720). The French colony of Canada, or New France, embraced the St. Lawrence valley and the Great Lakes, and here again they built forts at strategic points, such as Fort Niagara, between Lakes Ontario and Erie. They also built forts (e.g. Ticonderoga) on Lake Champlain, which commanded the approach to Canada from the Hudson valley. Lastly, the French held Louisiana, which gave them the command of the Mississippi valley, along which also forts were built at intervals.¹

Other
French
Forts

It was the design of the French to shut up the British in their coastal colonies and develop the rest of the continent themselves. The Appalachian Mountains, which formed a natural

¹ See Map, p. 603

western barrier to the British colonies, seemed designed by nature to forward the French plan. Nevertheless, the British colonists were unwilling to see the whole Mississippi-Ohio basin fall into French hands, to be linked up, at no distant date, with the French northern colony of Canada. Governor Burnet, of New York, built at his own expense Fort Oswego, on Lake Ontario, Virginian traders crossed the Appalachians and reached the Ohio, companies were formed to develop this region. When the French met the Virginian pioneers they regarded them as interlopers and arrested some of them. To such treatment the British colonists were unlikely to submit.

The British
on the Ohio

The war between Britain and France (1744-8), arising out of the War of the Austrian Succession, gave the rival colonists a chance to fly at each others' throats, nor, indeed, did they cease their strife when the official peace was proclaimed in 1748. During the war the New England colonists captured Louisbourg, but this important conquest unfortunately had to be given up at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in exchange for Madras. The French, meanwhile, had been very active in Nova Scotia, where they were continually stirring up their ex-colonists to rebel against British rule. Halifax, a British town, was founded to counteract French influence (1749), and then the British Government took the extreme step of deporting several thousand Frenchmen from Nova Scotia to other parts of British North America.

First
capture of
Louisbourg
1745

Halifax

The threat to British interests was increased by the building (in 1753) of Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, within striking distance of the British colonies. Fort Duquesne completed the chain of French forts from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. The governor of Virginia, Dinwiddie, recognized the seriousness of the menace, and sent out a young colonial officer, named George Washington, to take Fort Duquesne (1754). But Washington was outnumbered, and forced to retreat. Next year the home government dispatched General Braddock to America, to drive the French from the Ohio. The French, however, with some Indian allies, ambushed Braddock and his little army in the woods. The British were marching in column, according to the drill-book, Braddock refused to take Washington's advice and order his men to scatter to the

Fort
Duquesne
1753

Braddock's
defeat
1755

woods. The result was that most of them were killed, including the general. Washington drew off the survivors, and retired to Virginia.

Such was the position of the rival colonists in North America at the outbreak of the Seven Years War (1756). In some respects the advantage appeared to be with the French. Their colonists were traders and hunters rather than settlers, and they were used to fighting, the whole French Empire in America, with its defensive forts, was founded on a military basis. Besides this, the French had many Indians on their side, for they had been far more tactful in their dealings with these potential allies. But, in spite of these facts, it was impossible that North America should pass into French hands, the whole number of French settlers was only 80,000, the British colonists outnumbered them by 25 to 1. It was not likely that, with such small numbers, the French could permanently prevent their rivals from expanding across an empty continent. As for their military preparations, these were counteracted by the fact that the British held command of the sea, and so were able to prevent French reinforcements from being sent to North America.

2 *The Seven Years War*

(1) *British Defeats 1756-7*

The seizure of Saxony by Frederick the Great precipitated a European war. The French realized that this would mean for them a struggle with Great Britain in all parts of the world—a struggle for which their colonists in America and India were quite prepared. In all the ports of France naval preparations were hurried forward, for much depended on striking a blow at Britain's naval supremacy.

The first blow was struck in the Mediterranean. In April 1756, without a declaration of war, a French fleet sailed from Toulon and landed a force on the island of Minorca. Port Mahon, the capital, was besieged. Admiral Byng, with a small British fleet, was at Gibraltar. He sailed to Minorca to see what he could do, engaged the French fleet in battle, but was unable to effect a landing. He sailed back to Gibraltar to refit his

The rival
colonists
compared

The French
take
Minorca
1756

ships, and while he was away Port Mahon fell. There was a howl of popular rage in England when the news arrived, Newcastle was terrified and decided to sacrifice Byng. The admiral was tried by court martial for failing to relieve Port Mahon, he was condemned to death and shot on board his own quarter-deck. Of this shameful affair Voltaire caustically wrote in *Candide* 'Dans ce pays ci [England] il est bon de tuer, de temps en temps, un amiral, pour encourager les autres'. On the admiral's tombstone it is written that 'bravery and loyalty were insufficient securities for the life and honour of a naval officer'.

Admiral
Byng
1757

Meanwhile the French had sent to Canada the able Marquis de Montcalm as military commander. Montcalm drove the British from Fort Oswego, their solitary station on the Great Lakes, and then prepared to advance from Lake Champlain. But here the British forts held him up, and it was lucky for the colonists in New York that they did. In the same year the English in India suffered the loss of Calcutta, and the outrage of the Black Hole. The only bright spot was that Newcastle resigned in December (1756).

Montcalm
in Canada
1756

The Pitt-Devonshire ministry, which lasted during the first four months of 1757, was followed, after a short interval, by the famous Pitt-Newcastle ministry, which saved England and won an Empire. As Pitt was not firmly in the saddle till the latter part of 1757 he was not able to do much that year, which, in fact, was almost one long record of disaster. Cumberland had been sent with an army to Germany, where he was soundly beaten by the French and forced to sign the Convention of Kloster-Seven, by which he had to evacuate Hanover. In America the army of regulars and colonials made no progress against Montcalm. The situation, as it appeared at the end of 1757, was thus gloomily summed up by Lord Chesterfield: 'We are undone at home and abroad. The French are masters to do what they please in America. We are no longer a nation. I never yet saw so dreadful a prospect.' Chesterfield's remarks perhaps represented the general feeling of depression, Pitt was more sanguine.

Pitt in
power
1757-61

Even that winter the tide began to turn. Frederick won the greatest of all his victories at Rossbach (Saxony) over the

Rosbach

French, which sent a thrill of pride throughout Germany. And from India came the amazing news of Clive's victory at Plassey, which gave the vast province of Bengal to the East India Company

Plassey
1757

(ii) *The Victorious Years 1758-60—Canada*

Pitt's organization of the war began to take effect in 1758. His measures may be summed up as follows. First, he re-organized the Navy, and sent squadrons to blockade the French Atlantic ports, and so prevent reinforcements from being sent to America. A similar watch was kept, by the Gibraltar squadron, on the Mediterranean. This sound strategy was followed up by raids on the French coasts, Cherbourg was captured and its forts destroyed (1758). Secondly, Pitt, who had once condemned the employment of British troops in Hanover, now added a British army to the German forces under the Duke of Brunswick's command, and so helped to clear the French out of Hanover. Money was poured out to enable Frederick the Great, now hard pressed, to continue the struggle. Thus Pitt kept France busy in Europe. 'We shall win Canada', said Pitt, 'on the banks of the Elbe'.

The Navy

Germany

Thirdly, while Frederick was defending Prussia against Austrians, Russians, French, and Swedes, Britain launched her offensive against the French colonial empire. Thus, as far as Britain was concerned, was the main effort of the war, and it depended on her keeping command of the sea. The French were unable to save their stations in India, where they steadily lost ground. They lost also Senegal and Goree, in West Africa, and with these places fell the whole French slave-trade. Another British expedition was sent to the West Indies, and took Guadeloupe (1759). Meanwhile, in order to reverse the situation in North America, a great assault on Canada was planned.

West Africa

West Indies

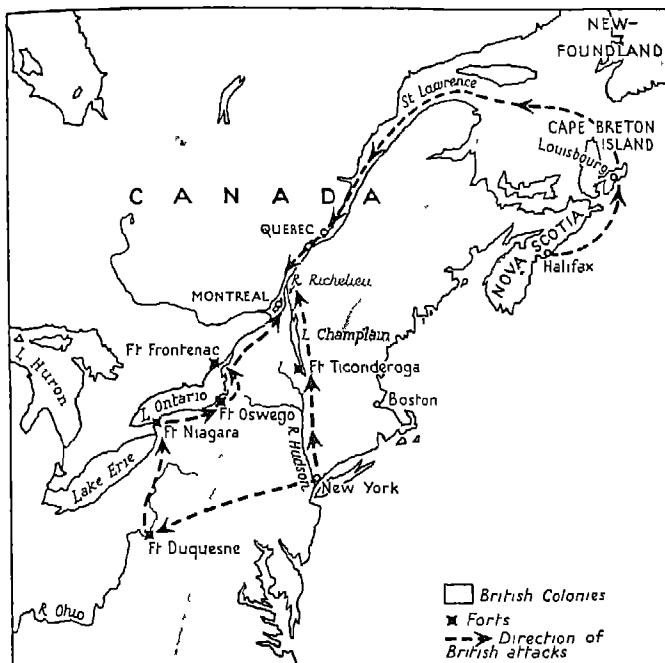
Canada
1758-60

The attack was planned along three lines of advance

1. A naval and military expedition to Louisbourg, the capture of which was an essential preliminary to an advance up the St. Lawrence
2. An advance up the Hudson valley towards the forts on Lake Champlain, and thence to the St. Lawrence

3 An attack on Fort Duquesne, and thence to the Great Lakes

In 1758 the first of these attacks was a brilliant success. A fleet under Admiral Boscawen brought an attacking force



THE SEVEN YEARS WAR IN NORTH AMERICA

(under Amheist and Wolfe) to Cape Breton Island the famous fortress of Louisbourg fell, and so the way was opened to the estuary of the St. Lawrence. On land the main advance up Lake Champlain was a failure, for General Abercrombie sustained a bloody repulse before Ticonderoga at the hands of Montcalm. But a detachment of Abercrombie's army advanced up the Mohawk (tributary of the Hudson) and took Forts Oswego and Frontenac, on Lake Ontario. At the same time Brigadier Forbes, pushing across to the Ohio, found Fort

Second
capture of
Louisbourg
1758

Fort Pitt
(Pittsburg)
1758

Duquesne abandoned and burnt Forbes renamed the place Fort Pitt. 'I have used the freedom', he wrote to Pitt, 'of giving your name to Fort Duquesne, as I hope it was in some measure the being actuated by your spirit that now makes us masters of the place'

Quebec
1759

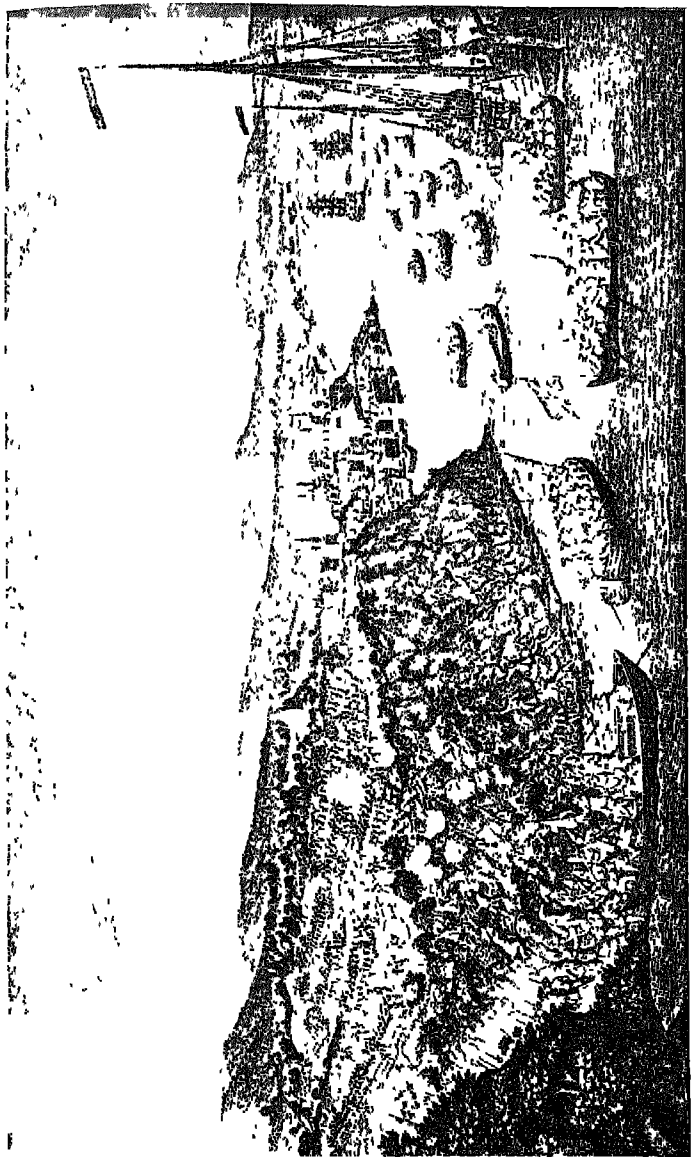
The next year—1759, the year of victories¹—witnessed one of the best-known incidents in British history. A British fleet of 170 ships, under Admiral Charles Saunders, was sent up the St. Lawrence, conveying the army of General James Wolfe, the brilliant young commander whom the genius of Pitt had picked out from among his seniors. The problem was to reach the French forts (which guarded Quebec) on the Heights of Abraham, towering above the river. The army was disembarked under cover of darkness, and while part of the fleet opened a bombardment to distract the defenders, the Heights of Abraham were scaled. The sailors, who had found a path up the apparently inaccessible cliffs, led the way up, carried the ammunition and small guns, and placed Wolfe and his army on the Heights. This amazing feat was carried out in the dim light of dawn; the French defenders were therefore taken completely by surprise. Both Montcalm and Wolfe were mortally wounded, but Wolfe lived to hear that the French were routed. Thus Quebec fell into the hands of the British (September 1759).

Fall of
Montreal
1760

The French tried to recapture Quebec during the winter, but failed to do so. After this the end was only a matter of time. The other British lines of advance, from Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario, were now pushed forward, the French were obliged to concentrate all their defences on Montreal. The converging attacks advanced on the town, and it fell (1760), and with it fell the French dominion in North America.

While the British were occupied with the conquest of Canada, the French planned a counter-attack—nothing less than an invasion of England. During the summer of 1759 the French navy strained every nerve to break the blockade of their ports. At last the Brest fleet got out. Then, in November 1759, Admiral Hawke swept down on the enemy among the rocks

¹ Horace Walpole, son of Sir Robert, wrote 'It is necessary to enquire every morning what victory there is, for fear of missing one.'



A CONTEMPORARY PRINT OF WOLFE'S CAPTURE OF QUEBEC

The Heights of Abraham are, of course, much higher in reality than they appear in this imaginative picture

Quiberon and shoals of Quiberon Bay (Brittany) The chief pilot warned the admiral of the danger of the hidden shoals 'You have done right', said Hawke, 'to warn me of the danger Now lay me alongside the enemy' In a few hours the wreckage of the French fleet justified the daring and resource of the admiral The danger of a French invasion of England was over

Death of George II 1760 A year after this important naval victory George II died (October 1760) He had lived to see the minister whom he had once hated so heartily raise the prestige of Britain to undreamt-of heights At the old king's death the Great Commoner was at the height of his glory But the day of the accession of George III was an evil day for Pitt and for the British Empire

(iii) *The Fall of Pitt and the End of the War.*

The capture of Quebec and the victory of Quiberon decided the fate of Canada and of Britain. It only remained to continue the attack on what was left of the French Empire. In the West Indies the French islands fell in rapid succession In India the French fought a losing fight The decisive battle of Wandewash took place in 1760 Pondicherry fell the next year, and French India shared the fate of French America.

But Choiseul, now the French *premier ministre*, planned yet another counter-stroke He persuaded the new King of Spain, Charles III, to renew the Family Compact and come into the war Pitt learnt of what was intended, and he demanded that war should instantly be declared against Spain Most of the Cabinet, afraid of the combination of France and Spain, refused to take so bold a step, and appealed to the young king to support them George III, who had already developed that flair for making decisions contrary to the interests of his country which distinguished him throughout his life, decided against Pitt. The great minister at once resigned (October 1761)

War with Spain 1762 Pitt's predictions were soon fulfilled, the Family Compact was published, and Britain had to declare war against Spain (1762) The Spaniards, however, soon regretted their decision, for the Spanish West Indies went the way of the French Havana, the capital of Cuba, was taken, the Philippine Isles were captured by an expedition sent out from India.

Meanwhile George III was anxious for peace, and he

entrusted the negotiations to his new minister, the Earl of Bute. The French, after their colonial losses, were no less anxious to come to terms, so they abandoned their ally, Maria Theresa. This was unfortunate for the Empress, but exceedingly fortunate for Frederick the Great. The last years of the war had been disastrous for Prussia, since the country had been invaded from north, south, and east by Swedes, Austrians, and Russians, and even Berlin abandoned to the enemy. But the accession of a new Tsar, Peter III,¹ took Russia out of the war. The defection of France convinced the Empress that it was useless to continue the struggle. So she had to let her old enemy, Frederick, escape after all. Though he had been nearly beaten, his obstinate valour, the British victories, and a growing war weariness everywhere ensured that he should not be a loser, and he kept Silesia.²

Peace
negotia-
tions

Events in
Germany

The Treaty of Paris (1763), which ended the Seven Years War, made the following changes in the colonial position of the Great Powers.

The Treaty
of Paris
1763

1. France retired from North America, ceding Canada and Cape Breton Isle to Britain, and Louisiana to Spain (as compensation for Spanish losses). She retained only certain fishing rights off Newfoundland, which later caused many quarrels.
2. Britain also acquired from France Senegal, Minorca, and four West Indian islands, but restored Goree, Pondicherry,³ and the two largest French islands, Martinique and Guadeloupe.
3. Britain acquired Florida from Spain, but restored Cuba and the Philippines.

¹ Peter III had an intense admiration for Frederick the Great. His short reign, between those of Elizabeth and Catherine the Great, was a fortunate interlude for Frederick, since both Tsarinas were his mortal enemies. Peter III was soon afterwards deposed by his wife, Catherine the Great.

² Britain negotiated peace terms without reference to her loyal ally Frederick, whom she in fact deserted in a shameful way when she had gained all she wanted. Frederick never forgave Britain. He had become very popular here, and the desertion led to a great outcry, for example, Wilkes in No. 45 of *The North Briton* (see p. 620).

³ See below, p. 613.

The British
Empire in
1763

The conflict between the colonial empires of France and Britain thus came to an end with the almost total destruction of the former. The future of North America, as of India, lay in the hands of men of the British race. But the enormous triumph of Britain almost at once gave rise to misgivings. Was it too complete? Could Britain hope to keep all she had gained, or prevent France from plotting a war of revenge? There were some, even in 1763, who foresaw the answer to these questions. And scarcely had the peace with France been signed when our colonists in America began to assert their desire for independence. The French flag had vanished from North America, but with it went the need for the British colonists to rely any longer on the protection and support of the mother country. 'England', said a French observer, 'will soon repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe.' This prediction proved to be correct. Both the American War of Independence and the Maritime War of the same period, by which France obtained her revenge for 1763, were the indirect results of the victory which Britain gained in the Seven Years War.

3. *Clive in India*

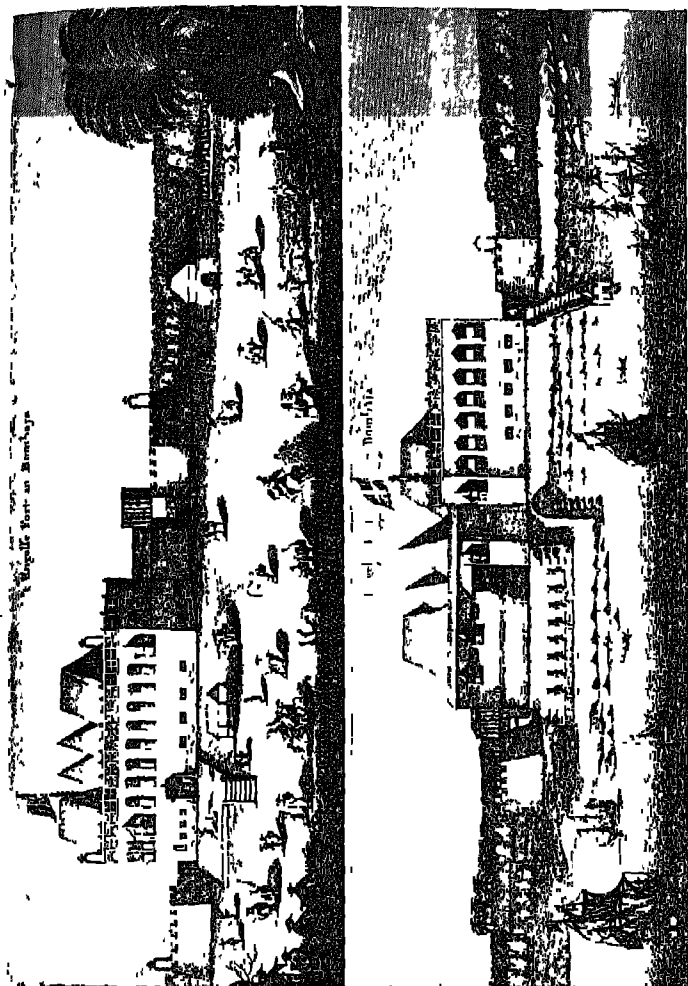
(i) *The Struggle in the Carnatic*

Death of
Arungzebe
1707

The Anglo-French struggle in India took place at the same time as that in other parts of the world. It was considerably affected by the weakness which was sapping the native government of India. This weakness was the result of the break-up of the Mogul Empire after the death of the Emperor Arungzebe (1707), the last of the Moguls who was able to keep his wide dominions together under one rule. His successors retained but a shadow of the former power of the Moguls, soon their authority was limited to a small district round the capital, Delhi.

Break-up of
the Mogul
Empire

The viceroys who ruled the six great provinces into which the Empire was divided became, to all intents and purposes, independent sovereigns. But the process of disintegration went further still, for the nawabs (Hindustani for princes) of the smaller provinces asserted *their* independence of their superiors. To add to these disruptive tendencies, the power of the



THE BRITISH IN INDIA

A Dutch print of 1720, showing Bombay Fort from the land and from the sea. The district of Bombay in which the original Fort stood is still called 'The Fort'

The Mahratta Confederacy¹ had become a terror to central India, from the Ganges to the Godavari, from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. Their trade was war and plunder, and, says Macaulay, 'wherever their kettle-drums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountains or the jungles, to the milder neighbourhood of the hyaena and the tiger'.² Most of the Mohammedan rulers were too weak to resist these formidable foes, the whole country, dissolving into anarchy, was ready to welcome any power which could offer the blessings of peace and protection. No one could have imagined that it was the destiny of a European trading company to unite India under one rule, still less that it would accomplish this task in less than a hundred years.

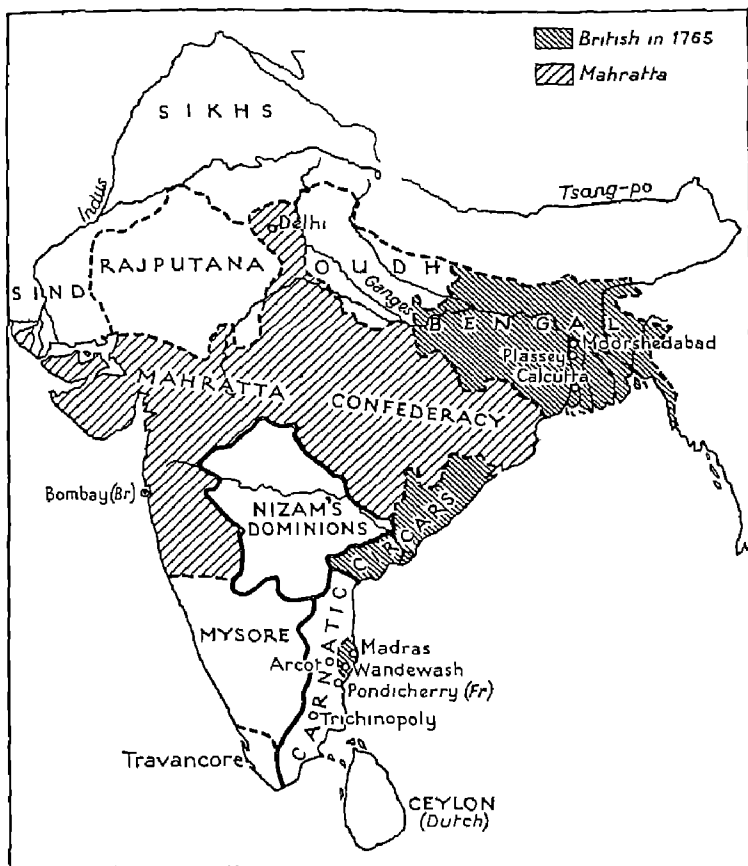
The French and English East India Companies were for many years solely concerned with questions of trade. The anarchy of India at first alarmed them and then fired their ambitions. The French, like the English, had trading-posts on all the coasts of India, the chief were Mahé on the Malabar coast, Pondicherry and Karikal in the Carnatic, and Chandernagore in Bengal. Pondicherry was the Company's head-quarters, and there, in 1741, came Joseph François Dupleix as governor-general. Dupleix had large views on imperial affairs, and he was a fervent patriot, his first thought, quite naturally, was to weaken his English rivals. The outbreak of war between Britain and France (1744) gave him the chance to attack Madras, which fell after making but a feeble resistance (1746). The opportune arrival of a French fleet from Mauritius, under Admiral La Bourdonnais, helped to hasten this event. But, to Dupleix's disgust, Madras was returned to the British at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, as the French Government considered it of less value than Louisbourg, for which it was exchanged.

His Indian policy It was in the same year that events in southern India turned the thoughts of Dupleix in another direction. His soldiers, recently employed in the attack on Madras, were now standing idle—but what might not well-trained French soldiers do in

¹ A group of five Hindu princes, each with his own capital and head of a marauding tribe of light horsemen.

² Macaulay, *Essay on Clive*

India? Duplex saw that they might do a great deal. He determined to use them in joining in the frequent wars between the



INDIA IN THE TIME OF CLIVE

native princes. In this way French military aid could be made to turn the scale in native quarrels, and the French Company would become the arbiter of southern India, perhaps of the whole of India. These immense schemes which floated before

Dupleix's mind were afterwards written down in his *Memoirs*, in which he strove to justify his policy, they seemed absurd to the directors of the French Company. But the British, in the next generation, turned Dupleix's dreams of European conquest of India into a reality.

At first all went as well as Dupleix could wish. The Nawab of the Carnatic was killed in battle by a usurper called Chunda Sahib, who gained the victory with the aid of 400 French soldiers. Chunda Sahib was enthroned as Nawab of the Carnatic (1749), but he relied on Dupleix to maintain his position, in fact he was as much a puppet of the French Company as, later on, the nawabs of Bengal were of the English. In 1751 another usurper was installed, by the same means, as Nizam of the Deccan, this was an even greater triumph, since the Nizam was the most important prince in southern India. The new Nizam gave Dupleix a high-sounding title and recognized his control over his vassal, the Nawab of the Carnatic. Dupleix's ambitions seemed about to be realized.

His failure was due, in a large measure, to the hostility of the British, and especially to the genius of Robert Clive. Clive was a young man who had come out to India (1743) as a clerk in the East India Company, but his natural daring and pugnacity could ill support a sedentary life. He had taken a commission in the army during the last war, and now suggested to the governor of Madras a bold stroke against the ambitious Frenchman. There was only one town holding out against Chunda Sahib and his French allies, and that was Trichinopoly, in the south of the province. Here Mohammed Ali, a son of the late nawab, had taken refuge, the town was being besieged by the French and the present nawab. Clive volunteered to lead a British force to Arcot, the capital of the province, and so draw Chunda Sahib's army away from the siege of Trichinopoly. The plan succeeded, Clive took Arcot, and defended it for fifty days with a handful of men against an army of several thousands. The defence of Arcot not only had the desired effect of relieving Trichinopoly, but raised the prestige of the British to a level with that of the French. From this time the Indians began to doubt the invincibility of Dupleix and his Frenchmen, which had hitherto been unquestioned.

The next year Major Lawrence, assisted by Clive, forced a French army to surrender before the walls of Trichinopoly. Matters were going badly for Dupleix, he had spent a great deal of money, and yet his schemes were being ruined by English interference. But he still had an army in the Deccan, and did not despair of retrieving his position in the Carnatic. The French Company, however, took a more serious view of the situation, and they determined to recall their governor-general. He was superseded (1754) and forced to return to France, where his great services were unrewarded and he was left to die in poverty.

Trichinopoly, 1752

Recall of Dupleix 1754

His successor made a formal treaty of peace with the English, but this peace was not of long duration, owing to the outbreak of the Seven Years War. Clive was engaged in the conquest of Bengal,¹ and in his absence the French made a final effort to drive the British from the Carnatic. They did not succeed. Their new military leader, the Comte de Lally, son of an Irish Jacobite, was a brave soldier but a bad commander, he quarrelled with practically all the French officials in India. He was not as skilful as Dupleix in diplomacy and he recalled the French troops from the Deccan. Relying, as he did, on French military efficiency rather than on intrigues with the natives, he was hampered by lack of supplies, which could not be brought in so long as England retained command of the sea. He was forced to abandon the siege of Madras (1758) when an English fleet appeared off the coast. In 1760 Lally encountered the main British army under Sir Eyre Coote at Wandewash, half-way between Pondicherry and Madras. The victory went to the British, and Lally retired to Pondicherry. The British blockaded the town by land and sea, and it had to surrender (1761). Lally was taken a prisoner to Madras.

Lally in the Carnatic

Wandewash

Fall of Pondicherry 1761

These events decided the fate of the French in India. When the Treaty of Paris came to be signed, Pondicherry and their other towns were restored to them, but, on Clive's suggestion, a clause was inserted forbidding the French to keep armed forces in India. Henceforth they had to use their possessions as trading stations only. The field of expansion in India was thus left clear for the English Company.

End of the French power in India

¹ See next section

The Comte de Lally was treated by an ungrateful country even worse than Dupleix—or Clive. He was accused of having sold Pondicherry to the English, unjustly convicted of treason, and beheaded (1766)

(11) *The Conquest of Bengal*

The fertile plain of Bengal, with its teeming population, did not become a scene of European conflict until the outbreak of the Seven Years War. The British, French, and Dutch stations on the Hooghli—Calcutta, Chandernagore, and Chinsura—lay within thirty miles of each other, but they remained at peace, both with each other and with the native rulers of Bengal. This state of affairs was altered by the action of a new nawab, Surajah-Dowla (Siraj-ud-Daula), who succeeded to the throne of Bengal in 1756.

Surajah-Dowla was a degenerate youth who conceived a violent hatred of the British. He marched against Calcutta and took the town. Some of the defenders escaped by water, but 146 prisoners were shut up in the infamous 'Black Hole', a small guard-room, from which only 23 survivors emerged alive (June 1756). The remaining residents took refuge twenty miles down the river. Surajah-Dowla retired to his capital, imagining that he had heard the last of the British.

When the news from Bengal reached Madras the governor decided to send an expedition to recover Calcutta. A fleet of five ships under Admiral Watson conveyed Colonel Clive with 900 British and 1,500 native troops (sepoys) to Bengal. The fleet sailed up the Hooghli, and Calcutta was retaken. Shortly afterwards the British attacked the French station at Chandernagore by land and water, and the garrison surrendered.

The British expedition had now accomplished all and more than it had set out to do. But with Clive inaction was impossible, and events in Bengal invited interference. Though British relations with the nawab were outwardly friendly, Clive formed a conspiracy¹ with Meer Jaffer, a great noble of

¹ Omichand, a native used by the British as a go-between, tried to levy blackmail under threat of divulging the conspiracy. Thereupon Clive, considering that 'art and policy were warrantable in defeating the purposes of such a villain', had two copies of the treaty with Meer

the nawab's court, to overthrow Surajah-Dowlah. At last the nawab, suspecting treachery, decided to attack the British once more. Clive was ready for him at Plassey with an army of 3,200 men, British and natives, the nawab's army numbered 50,000. Clive waited some time before deciding to attack, since his chances of success depended on the expected treachery of Meer Jaffer. Surajah-Dowlah, however, brought about his own ruin by ordering a retreat, Clive fell on the demoralized Bengalees, and confusion spread through their ranks. Plassey was not a battle; it was a panic-stricken rout. The English lost 20 men, the Bengalees perhaps 500. Meer Jaffer's contingent took no part in the action.

After the rout of Surajah-Dowlah's army the English entered Murshidabad, the native capital, and installed Meer Jaffer as nawab. Surajah-Dowlah was killed by Meer Jaffer's son. The new nawab had promised to pay £1,000,000 to the Company in compensation for their losses at Calcutta, and considerably more than that sum in gratuities to Clive and other Englishmen. It was found, however, that the Bengal treasury did not contain the requisite sum, Meer Jaffer was therefore obliged to make the payments by annual instalments. The British completed their triumph by capturing Chinsura, the Dutch station on the Hooghly. Clive returned to England in 1760, and was rewarded for his services with a peerage.

He was away from India for five years, and during his absence the Company's officials worked their will in Bengal. Their conduct left much to be desired, they regarded Bengal as a place to make their fortunes, regardless of the welfare of the natives. In fact, the welfare of the natives was no business of theirs; they had power without responsibility—always a dangerous combination. The nawab was forced to make laws favouring British traders at the expense of his own subjects. Finally the British deposed him, and set up his son-in-law, Meer Kasim, in his stead.

Meer Kasim was treated in the same way as his predecessor, and was soon driven into revolt against his masters. Warren Hastings, a member of the British Council in India, warned

Jaffer drawn up, one of which contained a false promise to Omichand (The story of this intrigue can be read in Macaulay's *Essay on Clive*.)

his fellow members that they were making themselves 'lords and oppressors' of Bengal, but his warning went unheeded. The Council deposed Meer Kasim, who had proved too independent for its liking, and set up Meer Jaffeer again. Meer Kasim fled to Oudh, where he joined forces with the nawab of that province, and with the Mogul emperor. These allies attempted to drive the English from Bengal, but were heavily defeated by the Company's forces at the battle of Buxar, the most complete victory yet won by an English army in the East (1764).

Battle of
Buxar, 1764

Clive's last
visit to
India
1765-7

Shortly after this Clive was requested by the East India Company to return to Bengal. Great as Clive's former services had been, they were not comparable to the task which he now undertook, which no other man could have attempted, and in which he was largely successful. His mission was to effect a revolution in British dealings with India and put an end to the methods of extortion by which British officials had grown rich out of native weakness. First he took advantage of the victory of Buxar to conclude the Treaty of Allahabad, by which the Mogul granted the *diwan* (i.e. the right of collecting and administering the revenue) for the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa to the British. At the same time Clive forbade private trading and the taking of presents by the Company's servants, whose salaries were raised to make up for the losses which these new regulations entailed. But it was impossible to abolish corruption at one stroke, and many abuses crept back after Clive's departure.

Treaty of
Allahabad
1765

Clive met with much opposition in his dealings with the Company's officials and in his efforts to introduce a new and more honest standard. His own dealings with Meer Jaffeer in 1757 (before Plassey) were not unnaturally brought up against him, but that did not deter him from pursuing what he now thought to be the right course. But he made many enemies, who followed him to England when he retired two years later.

It was partly through the machination of these men that Clive, on his return, was attacked in Parliament. He was accused before a Parliamentary Committee of having received bribes from Meer Jaffeer during his first governorship of Bengal. He defended himself with his usual spirit, and contended that

Clive before
Parliament
1772

he had received no more than his right, and, further, that he might have helped himself to much more had he so chosen. He described the gold, silver, and jewels which he had seen in the treasury of the nawab's gorgeous palace at Murshidabad. 'By God, Mr Chairman,' he exclaimed, 'at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!' This line of argument was scarcely convincing, the Committee came to the conclusion that Clive had been guilty of receiving sums of money from native rulers. But lest this verdict should appear to reflect too harshly on the honour of one who had served England so well, the Committee added the famous rider 'Robert, Lord Clive, did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country.'

Two years later Clive committed suicide. His health had long been poor, and was not improved by the knowledge that many of his countrymen regarded him as a tyrant. As a soldier and administrator Clive stands head and shoulders above his contemporaries. He made mistakes, but his mistakes were never the outcome of weakness. It is impossible to imagine what the history of India would have been without him. His life was passed in scenes of action, in the course of which he had to make many momentous decisions, but, right or wrong, he was never known to hesitate. Some may question the morality of Clive's actions, but none can doubt his genius.

Death of
Clive, 1774

XXVIII

GEORGE III AND THE LOSS OF AMERICA

I *The King's Friends*

George III
1760-1820

WHEN George III succeeded his grandfather as king, the Whig oligarchy had been ruling England for nearly fifty years. It was the fixed intention of the young king to break the power of this oligarchy, and to substitute for it a non-party government, in which the personal wishes of the sovereign would play a far greater part than under the first two Georges. This programme was largely inspired by the political theories of Bolingbroke, as embodied in that writer's *Patrot King*.¹ George III had been trained by his mother, Augusta, Princess of Wales, to regard the duties of kingship with great seriousness; 'George, be a king' was her constant advice. She herself had been educated, not in England, but at a small German court (Saxe-Gotha) where the absolutism of the ruler was still unquestioned. She chose as her son's adviser a Scottish nobleman, the Earl of Bute.

His
Education

Revival of
the Tories

There were several circumstances which favoured the overthrow of the Whigs. Their system of government was unpopular in the country, even Pitt, the greatest of Whig ministers, openly despised the methods by which his party ruled England. Besides this, there was no longer any reason for Tories to be excluded from power, as they had been since the death of Queen Anne. The old charge of Jacobitism, which in earlier days had been levelled with some justice against the Tories, no longer held good. The Pretender and his son were exiles, and all thought of restoring them had now been abandoned. The Tories, therefore, transferred their loyalty to the king himself, the avowed enemy of the Whig oligarchy.

Character
of
George III

There was much in the character of George III to attract the loyalty of his subjects. He had been brought up as an English gentleman, and in tastes and manners he looked the part. English was his native tongue, and he was in all respects

¹ See above, p. 587

a striking contrast to his two German predecessors. His love of England, and his devotion to what he conceived to be her interests, were genuine. 'Born and educated in this country,' he said in his first Speech from the Throne, 'I glory in the name of Britain.' Such sentiments naturally evoked feelings of affection, and these feelings were strengthened by the virtues of the young king. George III was free from the vices for which his grandfather and great-grandfather and his own sons were notorious, his private life was without scandal. He was a model son, a devoted husband, and an indulgent father. His tastes were those of a simple country gentleman, and his subjects admired him for them—'Farmer George' he was affectionately nicknamed.

The defects of the king's character were less obvious, but they were none the less profound, and no other sovereign in modern times has—although with the best intentions—inflicted such deep injuries upon his country. The most marked trait in his character was obstinacy. He aspired to be the leader of his people, but he was in truth only the leader of the most unenlightened section of them. He opposed, often successfully, every movement of reform which was suggested during his long reign. He opposed the reform of Parliament, the relaxation of the Irish commercial laws, and the emancipation of Roman Catholics, and he supported the Slave Trade. Above all, his obstinate attitude towards the American colonies did much to embitter that controversy, and to prolong the struggle.

The king began his attack on the Whigs by informing Newcastle that he proposed to take the patronage of the Crown into his own hands. This was the most serious blow that could have been struck at Newcastle's power, the General Election of 1761 returned, for the first time for half a century, a House of Commons in which the 'placemen' were not dependent on the Whig ministers. Henceforth the king could rely on a solid body of personal supporters in the Commons. These men looked, not to the Prime Minister of the day, but to the king, for their reward in places and pensions, and the king soon proved himself quite as competent at bribery as any Whig. So was formed that political party which received the name of the King's Friends. George also insisted on his friend Lord

His Virtues

His Defects

The King's
Friends

for the Northern Dept Bute entering the Cabinet as a Secretary of State Pitt, as we have seen, resigned (October 1761) on the question of the Spanish war, and Newcastle survived his colleague only a few months. When he resigned (1762) the long reign of the Whigs was over The king at once made Lord Bute First Lord of the Treasury Bute was an amiable and cultivated Scottish gentleman, but he had no gifts of leadership The chief work of his ministry was to make peace with France and Spain by concluding the Treaty of Paris (1763) Bute negotiated peace with France behind the back of our ally, Frederick the Great of Prussia, so that Britain was left without a friend in Europe The peace was unpopular in the country, since it was alleged that the terms should have been more favourable to Britain than they were Bute became the victim of a scurrilous newspaper campaign, led by John Wilkes, editor of a paper called the *North Briton* All the popular prejudice against Scotsmen was called in to aid this campaign Bute endured it in silence for a time, and then resigned (1763)

This was a serious set-back to the king's plans, and he was forced to find ministers from among the Whigs That once great party was now divided into sections following various leaders, of whom the chief were George Grenville, the Duke of Bedford, and the Marquis of Rockingham Pitt, whom the old Whig leaders all hated, remained aloof A ministry was formed with Grenville as Prime Minister, supported by the Duke of Bedford, with whom Pitt had refused to serve

The ministry of George Grenville, a diligent but small-minded man, is chiefly remembered for the passage of the Stamp Act (1765), which opened the American controversy¹ At the time, however, this did not attract so much attention as the Wilkes case John Wilkes, the outspoken editor of the *North Briton*, was soon to be the hero of London No 45 of his paper contained a reference to the King's Speech on the recent peace treaty The paper said that the king had given 'the sanction of his sacred' name to the most odious measures and to the most unjustifiable public declarations from a throne ever renowned for truth, honour and unsullied virtue' George III considered that this was an accusation of personal falsehood,

¹ See next section

he insisted that the author or authors should be prosecuted for seditious libel. Accordingly a general warrant (i.e. one mentioning no names) was issued against the 'authors, printers and publishers' of the *North Briton*, under this Wilkes and forty-eight other persons were arrested. Wilkes claimed that, as a member of Parliament, he could not be arrested for libel, and also that there was no evidence that he was author or publisher of No. 45. Lord Chief Justice Pratt upheld the former plea, and Wilkes was released.¹

The House of Commons, however, took a different view. By a considerable majority the House declared that Parliamentary privilege did not extend to libel, ordered No. 45 of the *North Briton* to be burnt by the common hangman, and later expelled Wilkes from the House. He was wounded in a duel, and fled to France, not waiting to face the main charge of libel. He was outlawed by the Court of King's Bench when he failed to answer the charge (1 November 1764). He was, however, to be heard of again.

Wilkes
expelled
from the
House
1764

Grenville's ministry was now extremely unpopular, owing to the storms which had arisen in America over the Stamp Act and in England over the Wilkes case. The king also detested his Prime Minister, and was heard to declare 'I would sooner meet Mr. Grenville at the point of my sword than let him into my cabinet'. In 1765 Grenville resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Rockingham, leader of another section of the Whigs. Rockingham's ministry lasted only one year, it repealed the Stamp Act and declared that general warrants were illegal. But the king disliked Rockingham, and was anxious to form another ministry as soon as Pitt would agree to join.

Rocking-
ham's
Ministry
1765-6

Great things were expected of Pitt, who was now created Earl of Chatham and became head of a 'non-party' ministry. Unfortunately, however, the great minister was already in the decline of his power. He suffered terribly from gout, and the ravages of this disease overclouded his mind. He shut himself up in his house, and refused to communicate with his colleagues,

Ministry of
Chatham
1766-8

¹ Numerous legal actions were afterwards brought by Wilkes and other persons arrested in 1763 under the general warrant. Lord Chief Justice Pratt decided that general warrants were illegal, and this decision was upheld by Lord Mansfield in 1765.

half of whom spent their time quarrelling with the other half. After two years of this confusion Chatham resigned and the Duke of Grafton became the nominal head of the ministry. ^{and} Grafton was a young man of little merit, quite incapable of leading the country or of combating the growing influence of the king and the King's Friends. Charles Townshend was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and proposed the famous taxes which further embittered the relations between the American colonies and Britain.¹

In 1768 Wilkes returned to England and stood as a candidate for Parliament. He was chosen by the electors of Middlesex, but Parliament declared him incapable of sitting. He stood again for Middlesex, and was again returned. The House ordered a third election, Wilkes was opposed by a certain Colonel Luttrell, whom he defeated by a four to one majority. The House, now clearly going beyond its rights, declared that Colonel Luttrell was the member for Middlesex. This monstrous decision produced riots in London, and Wilkes was the hero of the hour. His popularity showed that Parliament was dangerously out of sympathy with the people whom it was supposed to represent. Meanwhile the ministry was attacked in the anonymous *Letters of Junius*, which contained violent attacks on Grafton and his colleagues. The authorship of these *Letters* has never been discovered.

It was during this unhappy state of public affairs that the genius of Edmund Burke produced one of the masterpieces of political writing. Burke was an Irishman who had become secretary to Lord Rockingham. Though he never held high office he was the most influential political thinker in Britain in the eighteenth century. His *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* was written in 1769, and published the following year. It contained a careful analysis of the political situation, and a condemnation of the growing power of the Crown. Burke was a loyal Whig, and an enthusiast for the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, he viewed with dismay the decline of his party since the accession of George III. He failed to see that the Whig was not the only possible party, and he overlooked the fact that the Whigs were deservedly unpopular after half a century of

¹ See next section.

government by bribery and corruption. He regarded the latter as an unfortunate incident of the Whig régime and one which ought to be removed. Burke was correct in observing that the Crown was in process of recovering its ancient power; and he expressed a genuine and justifiable alarm at the spectacle of the King of England entering into politics and forming a party of his own.

Meanwhile George III had, on Townshend's death, introduced Lord North into the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer. North was a Tory, and a staunch supporter of the royal power, and thus a most acceptable person to the king. In 1770 George accepted Grafton's resignation, and North became Prime Minister. At last the king had his own way. He had got rid of the Whigs, and had a servant who was content to be a nominal chief minister, the real Prime Minister was George III. The rule of the king and Lord North lasted twelve years (1770-82). Their period of power, though successful in many other ways, was marked by the outbreak of the American War and the loss of the Thirteen Colonies.

Rule of
George III
and Lord
North
1770-82

2 *The Quarrel with America*

In order to understand the causes of the quarrel with the American colonies we must glance back several years. There had always been a section of colonial opinion hostile to the influence of Britain. In New England especially, the colonists were the descendants of men who had fled from Stuart England as religious exiles; they could not be expected to regard Britain with any particular affection. Besides this, the colonies were, in most important respects, already self-governing, and it was evident that the inhabitants chafed under such British control as they had to endure. It had, indeed, long been obvious to acute observers that this was so. Lord Cornbury, governor of New York in Anne's reign, had said of the colonists: 'If once they can see they can clothe themselves without the help of England, they—who are already not very fond of submitting to government—would soon think of putting into execution designs they have long harboured in their breasts.'

Attitude
of the
American
Colonists
to Britain

One particular cause of grievance was the economic system of the old Colonial Empire. In common with all European

The
Mercantile
Empire

powers who held overseas possessions, Britain treated her colonial market as a monopoly. The colonial system had been carefully worked out in Stuart times,¹ when Charles II's Navigation Act (1660) had been passed. The colonists had to import manufactured goods—e.g. woollen and hardware articles—from Britain, and not from other countries. On the other hand the coffee, sugar, rice, and tobacco consumed in Britain could only be bought in the British colonial market. This colonial code, as even its greatest critic (Adam Smith) admitted, was considerably less harsh than the colonial systems of other European states. It brought great benefits to the colonies, as well as disabilities, as they well knew, but they were prone to accept the benefits and chafe under the disabilities. They smuggled goods from France, Spain, or the Spanish colonies whenever they found it convenient to do so. What was required was a careful and friendly consideration of a system already more than a century old, and by this time in need of adjustment, what happened was a series of unfortunate quarrels, leading to a final and complete rupture.

Effects
of the
Conquest of
Canada
1763

The overthrow of the French power in Canada was a turning-point in the history of America. It was prophesied at the time² that, now all fear of the French was removed, the American colonists would break away from Britain, they would bring to an end a state of dependence which some of them had long resented and which they now felt to be no longer necessary.

George
Grenville

These prophecies were speedily fulfilled. The peace with France was signed in 1763, in the same year George Grenville, whose fate it was to begin the quarrel with America, became Prime Minister of Great Britain. Grenville, who had no suspicion of the storm he was about to arouse, began by tightening up the old commercial system (1764), he enforced the Navigation Acts, whose working had become lax, and made some attempt to put down colonial smuggling, by which the Acts were evaded. Next, he proposed to station a force of 10,000 men in America (a quarter of this force to go to the West Indies, the remainder to the Thirteen Colonies) for the defence of the colonies against a possible French attack and against the Red Indians. Rather less than half of the cost of this defence force,

¹ See above, Chapter XXII

² See above, p. 608

he suggested, should be borne by the colonists, and raised by a stamp duty on legal documents. He gave the colonists a year to consider the matter, the Stamp Act was not passed through the British Parliament till 1765.

Stamp Act
1765

There was nothing at all unreasonable in Grenville's proposal, the tax was light, and it was proposed to spend the revenue derived from it, not in England, but on the defence of America. Nevertheless, the tax aroused a storm of opposition in America, and, in fact, could not be collected. The colonists denied the right of the British Parliament, sitting at Westminster, to impose 'internal' taxes. They raised the cry 'No taxation without representation', but, in fact, they did not really wish to be represented in the Westminster Parliament, nor, in eighteenth-century travelling conditions, would such a thing have been practicable for a country 3,000 miles away. The main effect of the proposed taxation was to create a united opposition in America, delegates from nine of the thirteen colonies met at New York (1765) to protest against the Stamp Act.

Opposition
to the
Stamp Act

Scarcely any one in Britain was prepared for this opposition, and to Grenville himself it came as a surprise. He resigned next year, owing to differences with the king, and Lord Rockingham succeeded him. Rockingham's policy was largely influenced by Burke, who sympathized with the colonists. Pitt also spoke against the Stamp Act, and the government decided to repeal it. At the same time, however, a Declaratory Act was passed, saying that Great Britain had the *right* to tax the colonies. The wisdom of this last step was at least doubtful. But, in any case, much harm had been done, henceforth any attempt at interference on the part of Britain was likely to meet with a renewed opposition.

Repeal of
the Stamp
Act, 1766

Next year, when the so-called Chatham Ministry was in power, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, decided to increase the revenue by levying a tax on tea, and on certain manufactured articles (chiefly glass and paper) entering American ports (American Import Duties Act). This Act met with the same reception in America as Grenville's proposal. There were riots in many colonial towns, especially in Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, which from now on

American
Import
Duties Act
1767

took the lead in opposing the British Government. Four thousand British troops were quartered in Boston—nearly a quarter of the number of the civil population. At home, Parliament passed resolutions condemning the disloyalty shown in Massachusetts, and an address was sent to the king thanking him for the measures he had taken to safeguard Britain's interests.

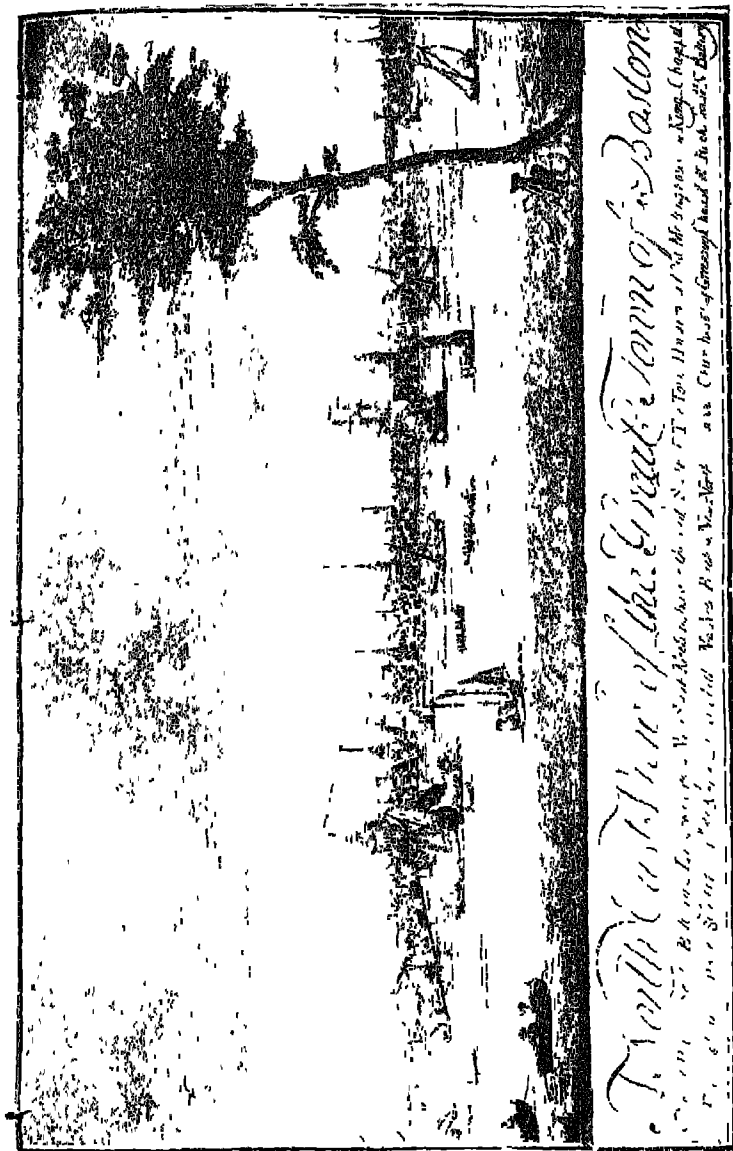
Attitude of British statesmen But British statesmen were by no means united in their view. Burke warned the Government that it was proceeding on a perilous course, and Chatham spoke against the policy of taxing the colonies. 'I rejoice', he said, 'that America has resisted'. In the Cabinet Grafton had succeeded Chatham as nominal head of the ministry, and North had succeeded Townshend as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Grafton was in favour of abolishing all the recent taxes, but after a debate the Cabinet decided to retain that on tea (March 1770). Thus the whole question remained unsettled.

George III and Lord North, 1770 In the same year North succeeded Grafton, and the personal government of George III began. The minister was too weak-willed and easy-going to resist the commands of his royal master, and the king himself assumed the chief responsibility for dealing with the colonists. His unbending temper was soon brought face to face with the equally unbending attitude of his overseas subjects. In 1773 North introduced a new Tea Act. Hitherto the East India Company had been compelled to sell its wares by public auction in London, merchants, English and American, had then had the handling of the tea. The new Act allowed the Company to send its tea direct to America and sell it there, and so crush the private dealers. The fact that the Act (by granting the Company a refund of British duties) would halve the price of tea to American consumers was not sufficient to outweigh the hatred of the Company's monopoly. Hostile demonstrations were held, and in Boston Harbour a party of men disguised as Red Indians boarded the East India Company's ships and threw the chests of tea into the sea. The news of this 'Boston Tea Party' was received with rage in England.

Boston Tea Party, 1773

Acts against Massachusetts 1774

The Government at once adopted strong measures. The port of Boston was declared closed, and a Massachusetts



A View of the City of Boston from the Water

Printed by J. B. 1720. The City of Boston is here represented as it appeared in the year 1720. The Ship in the foreground is the Ship of the Company of Merchants of the City of Boston.

THE AMERICAN COLONIES

A view of the 'great town' of Boston about 1720

Government Act was passed, which practically annulled the charter (1774). In the same year the Quebec Act extended the boundary of Canada to the Ohio, and granted to the French Canadians the free exercise of their religion (as Roman Catholics). Several of the colonies had harsh laws in force against Roman Catholics, so that this concession to the Canadians, tolerant and statesmanlike as it was, gave great offence, especially to the Puritans of Massachusetts. In the same year the first American Congress, representing all the thirteen states except Georgia, met at Philadelphia. The delegates declared for a general stoppage of trade with Britain until grievances should be redressed. At the same time they forwarded a protest to the British Government and demanded the repeal of the recent Acts.

Next year the first blood was shed. General Gage, in command of the British troops in Boston, sent out some men to prevent the colonists collecting military stores. There was some firing between the British regulars and the colonial militia at Lexington and Concord. After this the British did not venture out of Boston, for the whole of Massachusetts was in complete revolt.

Meanwhile a second American Congress was held, and a petition, known as the Olive Branch Petition, was sent to King George, containing an offer to return to the position of 1763, but denying the legislative power of the British Parliament. The King and the Cabinet, however, were now bent on coercing the rebels and, indeed, preparations for war were already far advanced on the American side. The same Congress which sent the Olive Branch Petition appointed Colonel Washington, who had seen some service in the Seven Years War, as General and Commander-in-Chief of the American Army. George Washington was a Virginian planter, a man of quiet tastes and averse from publicity. But he was also a man of inflexible will, one who was incapable of turning his back on a task to which he had devoted himself. His acceptance of the command did much to rally Virginia and the Southern States to the side of New England, where the centre of the revolt lay. The appointment of General Washington was in itself a considerable step towards the achievement of victory.

3 *The War of American Independence*

The British army which was sent out to reconquer the rebellious colonies was under the command of Sir William Howe, a soldier of no particular ability. Howe took up his quarters at Boston, bringing 10,000 reinforcements to the troops already there. Soon after his arrival the first main engagement of the war took place. The town of Boston was built on a peninsula, connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus called Boston Neck. But the Neck and the town itself were dominated by the Charlestown Hills and Dorchester Heights. The Americans seized a position near Bunker Hill. Howe now drove them from this position but they retired in good order.

General
Howe

Bunker
Hill
1775

Meanwhile the Americans tried to invade Canada, and sent a force up the Hudson and Lake Champlain route. This army arrived at Quebec, and delivered an attack, which, however, was beaten off by Sir Guy Carleton, the energetic Governor of Canada. The failure of this expedition decided the fate of Canada.

Invasion of
Canada
1775

Washington, during the latter part of 1775, had taken command of the American army before Boston. Howe permitted him to occupy Dorchester Heights which, like Bunker Hill, overlooked the town, which the Americans proceeded to bombard. After this Howe was compelled to evacuate Boston, which he did, bringing off his troops by sea to Halifax (Nova Scotia), March 1776.

Evacuation
of Boston
1776

In the same year the third American Congress met at Philadelphia and drew up the famous Declaration of Independence (4 July 1776). The Declaration summed up the case for independence in the following words:

The Third
American
Congress

'We hold these truths to be self-evident — "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundations on such principles as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness".'

Declaration
of Independence
4 July, 1776

Then came the declaration

'that these United colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved '

New York
taken, 1776

The scene of the war, meanwhile, had shifted to the Middle Colonies. Howe landed on Long Island, and drove Washington's army from its defensive position there, after which the British occupied New York, which they held for the rest of the war. Howe also took Philadelphia, but he did not follow up his success by pursuing the American army westward. Washington and his army settled down at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, for the winter. The American army numbered rather less than 4,000 men, Howe's forces were at least 10,000. The British general seemed to be quite unaware of the desperate straits to which the Americans were reduced, but which we can read of in Washington's dispatches. His men were almost destitute of supplies. 'few men (he wrote) have more than one shirt, many only the moiety of one, and some none at all'.

Washington
at Valley
Forge,
1776-7

A large proportion of the men were barefoot, so that 'their marches might be traced by the blood from their feet'. There was never enough to eat, the men, ill clothed and half starving, had to endure the fierce cold of December in this appalling condition. Half the army melted away—from sickness or desertion. But the remainder held on, faithful to their general, who never gave up hope in the darkest hour. It says much for the character and perseverance of Washington that he was able to maintain an army in the field under these conditions. He was saved by the incompetence of the British general, which matched, if anything could match, the incompetence of the colonial authorities in providing food and clothing for their own men.

It is certain that, had the British possessed a general with initiative, Washington's starving army might easily have been wiped out at Valley Forge. The Americans were fortunate, not only in having George Washington as a general, but in having no one of the same quality to oppose him. In 1777 the British made a grave miscalculation, which decided the issue of the

war It was determined to send an army southward from Canada, under General Burgoyne, to join forces with Howe It was essential to the success of this plan that a detachment of Howe's army should come northwards from New York to meet Burgoyne But instead of effecting a junction with Burgoyne, Howe employed all his men in fighting a campaign in the Middle Colonies There he won the battle of Brandywine Creek and captured Philadelphia (Sept) Meanwhile, when Burgoyne advanced down the Hudson valley, he found himself surrounded by a hostile population, and by a rapidly increasing American army His position, without reinforcements, was hopeless, and the reinforcements never came He therefore surrendered with his whole force of 3,500 men at Saratoga, 17 October 1777

Burgoyne's
army

Surrender
of Saratoga
1777

The news of Saratoga was received in Europe at Christmas. It at once decided the French government to take up the cause of the colonists, and to form an alliance with them. In 1778, therefore, Britain and France were at war The effect of this was decisive, since the French Navy opened an attack on the West Indies, which had to be defended at the same time as the French hampered our communications with the mainland of America The actual fighting force sent by France to America was of little use till nearly the end of the war, but the French naval action crippled Britain and made it impossible for her to reconquer the colonies Further, American privateers also attacked British ships, and one adventurous captain, Paul Jones, even landed on the coast of Scotland, and then captured two British ships off Scarborough (1778)

France
declares
war, 1778

Paul Jones

In the midst of these calamities died William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, who had lived to see the Empire, which he had raised to the first place in the world, brought to the verge of disruption, and the enemy, whom he had struck so low, rise up again to take her revenge

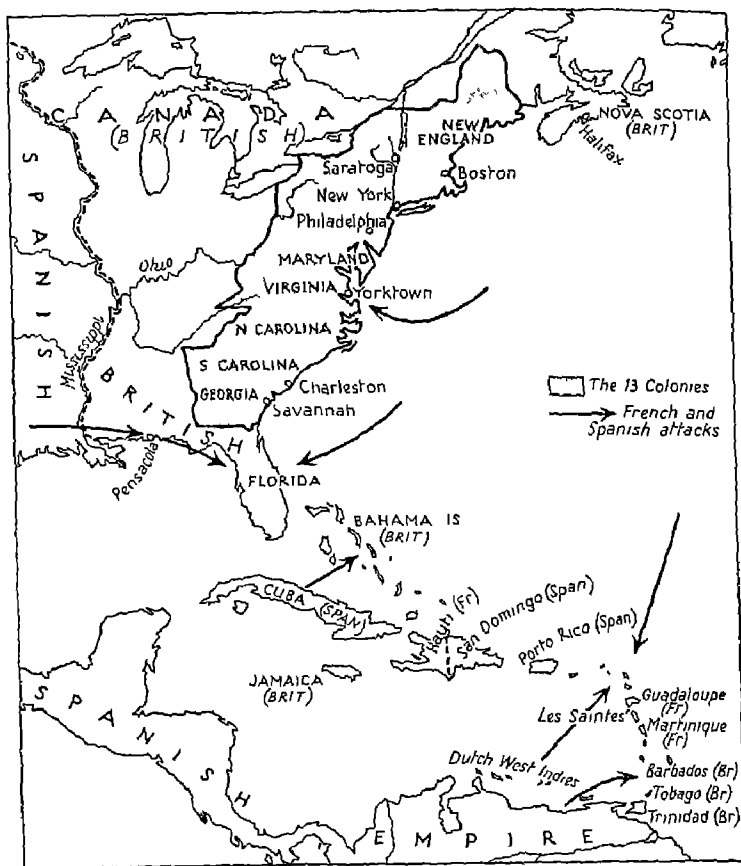
Death of
Chatham
1778

Next year (1779) Spain joined France, and the two powers attacked Britain in the Mediterranean, where Gibraltar and Minorca were besieged The French also sent a fleet to attack Britain in India,¹ and in 1780 Holland joined the ranks of our foes Britain, therefore, had to fight this Maritime War against

The Mari-
time War
1778-83

¹ See below, Chapter XXXIV

the other naval powers of Europe, to defend Gibraltar, the West Indies, and India, and at the same time to carry on the war



WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE AND THE MARITIME WAR

against the colonists. In these circumstances it is scarcely surprising that she lost the Thirteen Colonies. Disputes also arose with other European powers over the question of the rights of neutrals. Neutral powers claimed that they had a

right to trade with belligerents and that neutral ships could carry any goods save certain 'contraband of war', specified by treaty. The British Navy searched ships for contraband and sometimes went farther and tried to interfere with peaceful trade, and so extend blockade law beyond its natural limits. Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and other states now bound themselves together in an Armed Neutrality, threatening to declare war if their rights as neutrals were not respected.

The Armed
Neutrality

In America, Howe was superseded by Sir Henry Clinton, who decided to extend the war into the southern colonies. Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, was captured, and Lord Cornwallis, who was in charge of the campaigns, won several battles in North and South Carolina (1780). In spite of these successes, however, Cornwallis was not strong enough to hold the southern colonies. Next year he advanced to Yorktown, in Virginia, with 7,000 men. Washington was now joined by a French army under General de Rochambeau, and these allies laid siege to Yorktown. At the same time, a French fleet, under Admiral de Grasse, entered Chesapeake Bay, and blockaded Yorktown from the sea. Cornwallis, thus cut off from help by water, was besieged on land by a Franco-American army which outnumbered his by more than 2 to 1. His position was hopeless, and in October 1781 he surrendered.

War in the
Southern
Colonies

Surrender
of York-
town, 1781

4 *The End of the Old Empire*

The long tale of disaster from America was received month by month by a despondent British nation. The king became very unpopular, in 1780 the Commons carried a motion that the 'influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished'. It was at the beginning of the same year that London was for four days at the mercy of a wild anti-Catholic mob, led by a crack-brained fanatic called Lord George Gordon. The Gordon Riots were caused by the introduction of a Bill in Parliament, providing some relief for the Roman Catholics. Wild scenes were enacted, shops, factories, and breweries were broken into or destroyed—the last with baleful effect on the mob—while Catholic chapels were burnt to the ground. The riots were at last quelled by the personal intervention of the king, who took the responsibility of ordering

The
Gordon
Riots, 1780

the military to charge on the mob. These disgraceful scenes revealed the undercurrent of savagery which lay beneath the surface of eighteenth-century London, then unprotected by a proper police force.

The fall of Yorktown ended the war in America, even the king began to see that further hostilities against the colonists would be useless. Lord North insisted on resigning (1782). It was a bitter moment for the king, and for a short time he talked of abdicating his crown and retiring to Hanover. There was nothing to do but call in the Whigs, whose avowed purpose it was to end the war and recognize the independence of America. George III, therefore, reluctantly consented to Lord Rockingham's forming a ministry.

Meanwhile, the war against France and Spain was continued, and some welcome victories saved what remained of the British Empire. Though Minorca fell (1782), the French and Spaniards failed to take Gibraltar, which was brilliantly defended by its commander, Sir George Eliott. Equally cheering was the great victory ('Battle of the Saints') won by Admiral Rodney over the French off the islands of Les Saintes, near Dominica, in the West Indies, which restored British naval power in the Atlantic (1782). In the following year it fell to the Whig ministry to make a general peace.¹

During the short Rockingham Ministry (February–July 1782) Burke's Economic Reform Bill was passed, by means of which the number of sinecures given to 'placemen' in the House of Commons was drastically cut down. At last a blow was struck at the power by which the Whigs themselves had formerly ruled England, and which George III had employed for the past twenty-two years. Fox, the greatest of the Whig ministers, wished to go farther and abolish the rotten boroughs, but he could not carry his party with him, his violent opposition to the king's personal influence also earned him the hatred of George III. When Rockingham died (July 1782), therefore, George gave the premiership, not to Fox, but to Lord Shelburne. Fox and Burke thereupon resigned from the Cabinet.

¹ The Shelburne Ministry negotiated the treaty and signed the preliminaries; the final treaty was signed by the Fox–North Ministry (see Chapter XXXI).

Shelburne, who held office for a year, was a Whig, but was regarded by the king as the lesser of two evils, the greater being Fox. The new Premier was a man of exceptional ability, but he did not inspire confidence, his enemies nicknamed him the 'Jesuit of Berkeley Square'. The chief work of his ministry was to make a general peace with all our enemies.

By the First¹ Treaty of Versailles, the war was brought to an end on the following terms

Treaty of
Versailles
1783

- 1 Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States of America. She secured a promise that Congress should recommend to the various states the restoration of property confiscated from the Loyalists. But this 'recommendation' was ignored by the States, and the Loyalists were vindictively persecuted by the Americans. Many of them sought new homes in Canada and Nova Scotia.²
- 2 The boundary between Canada and the U.S.A. was fixed at its present line, and not (as in 1774³) at the line of the Ohio. The boundary west of the Great Lakes was left for future determination.
- 3 France received back her West African settlements Goree and Senegal, and the islands of Tobago and St. Lucia in the West Indies.
- 4 Spain received Florida and Minorca, which she had lost in 1763 and 1713 respectively.

The year 1783 thus marked the point at which the two main branches of the Anglo-Saxon race came to the parting of the ways. For Great Britain, this meant the end of a colonial policy pursued through a century and a half of commercial competition and war. The Old Colonial Empire had fallen, and the new Empire which was gradually built up to take its place developed on different lines. In the opinion of an American historian, the first British Empire 'was doomed to be broken asunder, but it was brought to that disaster by the insistent demand of Englishmen in America for the full enjoyment of those liberties which England fostered beyond any other country in the world'.

End of the
Mercantile
Empire

¹ The Second Treaty of Versailles (1919) ended the Great War.

² See below, Chapter XXXIV.

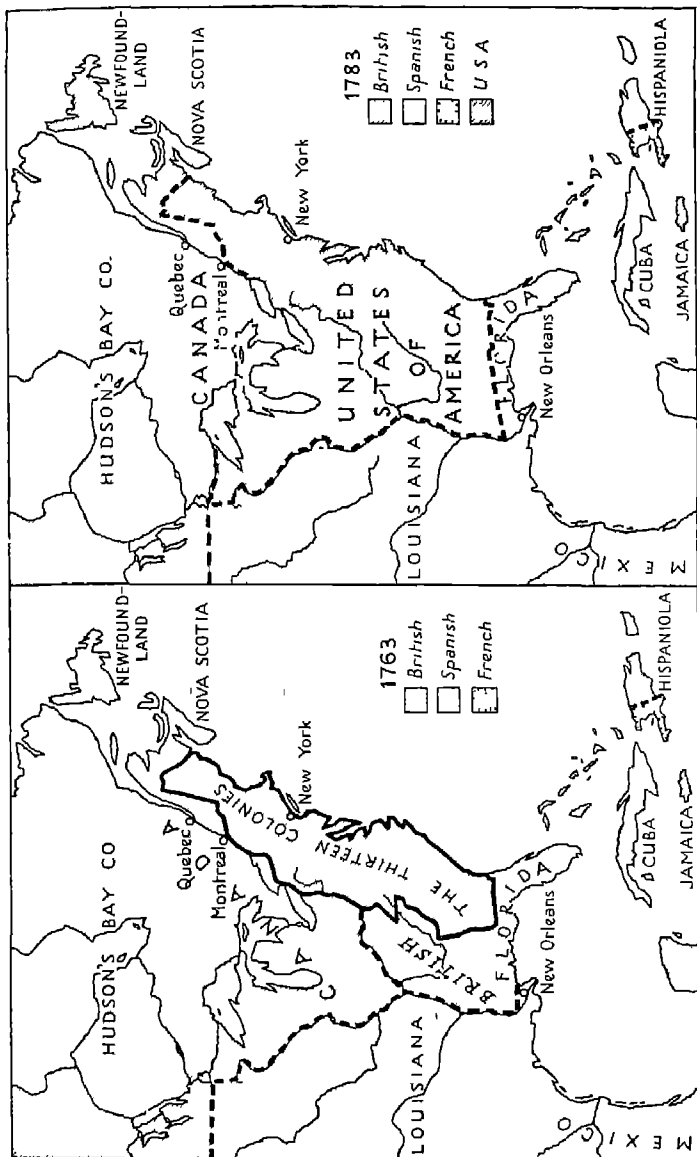
³ See above, p. 628.

The U S A For our former colonies, now the United States, independent development was just beginning. Great difficulties lay ahead of the infant American nation. That America survived, and became a great Power, was due in the first instance to the guiding hand of George Washington, and his friend Alexander Hamilton. In 1787 a Convention met to draw up the constitution of the United States, Washington was chosen as the first President. He first took office in 1789,¹ the year in which the French Revolution burst upon Europe. While this storm was raging in the Old World, Washington and his advisers had the hard task of trying to weld thirteen different and differing states into a nation.

In Britain, the loss of the colonies meant, as we have seen, the end of the personal government of George III. It could not be expected that the sovereign under whose rule the British Empire had been split in two could any longer retain the confidence of his subjects. Fits of insanity, which increased in duration as the years went by, clouded George III's declining years, and though he emerged once or twice into the political arena (as when he forbade the granting of religious freedom to Ireland), he never again became the formidable figure he once had been. Soon the chief power passed into the hands of Chatham's son, the young William Pitt, under whose leadership Britain was governed for close on twenty years. It was during those years that Britain built up a new commercial prosperity, regained her position as the first power in Europe, and laid the foundations of a new Empire.

New era in
British
history
begins

¹ The President's term of office is four years. Washington served two periods of four years, but refused to serve a third term, an example which has been followed by all his successors.



1783

1763

10 NORTH AMERICA

DATE SUMMARY: WAR AND EMPIRE (1756-83)

BRITAIN	AMERICA AND INDIA	EUROPE
	SEVEN YEARS WAR (1756-63)	
1756 Newcastle resigns	1756 Montcalm in Canada	1756 French take Minorca
1756-7 Devonshire Ministry		
1757 Execution of Admiral Byng	1757 ✕ Plassey CONQUEST OF BENGAL	1757 ✕ Rossbach
1757-61 PITT-NEWCASTLE MINISTRY	1758 Louisbourg and Fort Duquesne	
	1759 FALL OF QUEBEC	1759 ✕ Qulberon
1760 George II d	1760 Fall of Montreal	1760 Russians enter Berlin
1760-1820 George III	✕ Wandewash	Rousseau's <i>Contrat Social</i>
	1761 Fall of Pondicherry	1762 England at war with Spain
1761 Pitt resigns		1762-96 Catherine the Great (Russia)
1762 Newcastle resigns		
1762-3 Bute Ministry	1763 TREATY OF PARIS ends Seven Years War	

THE QUARREL WITH AMERICA (1763-75)

1763-5 Grenville Ministry	1764 ✕ Buxar	
1764 Wilkes' Case Hogarth d		
Hargreaves Spinning Jenny	1765 Treaty of Allahabad	
1765-6 Rockingham Ministry	1765 STAMP ACT	
1766 <i>The Vicar of Wakefield</i>	1765-7 Chye in India (3rd visit)	
1766-8 Chatham Ministry	1766 Repeal of Stamp Act	
	1767 American Import Duties Act	
1768-70 Grafton Ministry	1768-79 Cook's Pacific Voyages	
1768-9 Middlesex Election (Wilkes)		
1768 <i>Royal Academy</i>	1770 BOTANY BAY	
1769 <i>Burke's Present Discontents</i>	1773 Boston 'Tea Party'	1772 First Partition of Poland
Watt's Steam Engine	North's Regulating Act (India)	
Garrick's Shakespeare Festival	1774 Quebec Act	1774-92 Louis XVI
1770 Wordsworth born		
1770-82 North Ministry		

AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (1775-83)

	1774-85 WARREN HASTINGS	
	1775 ✕ Bunker Hill	
1776 Gibbon's <i>Decline and Fall</i>	1776 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE	
Adam Smith's <i>Wealth of Nations</i>		
1778 Chatham d	1777 Saratoga	1778 <i>Voltaire d</i>
1780 Gordon Riots	1778-83 Maritime War	1780 Empress Maria Theresa d
Irish Commercial laws repealed		
1782 North resigns	1781 Surrender of Yorktown	
1782 (Feb-July) Rockingham Ministry	1782 'Battle of the Saints' (Rodney)	
Irish Parliament		
1782-3 Shelburne Ministry		
1783 (Apr-Dec) Fox-North Coalition		
1783 (Dec) William Pitt, Pr Min	1783 TREATY OF VERSAILLES ends war with France, Spain, and America	

XXIX

THE AGE OF WESLEY AND DR JOHNSON

I *The Writers*

ENGLAND in the eighteenth century was a land of strange contrasts, and if we look at it through the eyes of the men whose names stand at the head of this chapter we shall see two very different worlds. Paradoxically enough, Johnson, who was uncouth in manners and appearance, moved in a highly cultivated society, Wesley, who was a man of far greater polish than Johnson, passed most of his long life in scenes of squalor and human suffering. Let us glance first at Dr Johnson's England.

The Power
of the Press

The reigns of Anne and the first three Georges, which fill the eighteenth century, were notable for a remarkable growth in both the power and the volume of the printed word. At the death of George I there were three daily and five weekly newspapers in London, and by the middle of the century every important provincial town had its local newspaper. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, for long a most popular weekly publication, first appeared in 1731. 'The people of Great Britain', said a writer in 1738, 'are governed by a power that never was heard of as a supreme authority in any age or country before. It is the government of the Press. The sentiments of these scribblers have more weight with the multitude than the opinion of the best politician in the kingdom.'¹ This, it must be remembered, was written years before the art of reading was a universal accomplishment.

Robinson
Crusoe and
Gulliver's
Travels

The reading public, however, was growing. The great writers of Queen Anne's day—Addison, Swift, and Defoe—still flourished in the reign of her successor and their works achieved immense popularity. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, which appeared in 1719, is one of the greatest works of fiction in the English

¹ This is of course an exaggerated statement. The power of the press was first really demonstrated by *The Times* of Barnes (Editor from 1807) and Delane (Editor from 1841). But the career of Wilkes shows that the printed word had a great deal of influence even in the eighteenth century.

language Few writers have excelled Defoe in power of realistic description—for example in the account of the discovery of the footprint in the sand, or in Crusoe's first meeting with Man Friday Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, like *Crusoe*, is a tale of adventure, and, though it was intended as a satire on English society, it may be read with pleasure as a good story

The eighteenth century saw also the birth of the English novel *Pamela*, which was published in 1740, was written by Samuel Richardson,¹ a middle-aged printer, and took the form of letters supposed to be written by a servant-girl The success of *Pamela* led to the publication of *Clarissa Harlowe*, by the same author, in eight solid volumes About the same time, Henry Fielding, a barrister, wrote *Joseph Andrews*, a novel which was shortly followed by his masterpiece, *Tom Jones* The English Novel

In *Tom Jones* we see the life of the eighteenth century as Fielding knew it, his Squire Western is painted from the life—the full-blooded, foul-mouthed country squire, who passed his days in hunting and his nights in drinking For a more sober picture of country life we can turn to Oliver Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, which appeared twenty years later Goldsmith's story is written with a desire to improve the mind, but it has neither the fire nor the artistic merit of *Tom Jones* Tom Jones Goldsmith was also the author of a famous comedy, *The School for Scandal* A later playwright, whose works (e.g. *The School for Scandal*) are still performed, was Richard Sheridan, who portrayed the doings of polite society, with its interminable chatter and its preoccupation with trifles The Vicar of Wakefield

The eighteenth century was one of the greatest periods in our history, but there was something stiff and formal about it. This formality is reflected in the poetry of the age, especially in the writings of Alexander Pope (1688–1744), its greatest exponent Pope was the arbiter of English taste for many years His translation of Homer was widely read and his *Essay on Man* contains some of the best-known epigrams in the English language ² Pope wrote in the heroic couplet, a regular, formal metre Goldsmith and Sheridan

¹ Tobias Smollett, author of *Roderick Random*, and Laurence Sterne, author of *Tristram Shandy*, were other novelists of this period

² e.g. 'Hope springs eternal in the human breast' 'The proper study of mankind is man' 'Order is Heaven's first law'

which exactly suited his style. He expressed the spirit of his own generation perfectly. 'If Pope be not a poet', said Dr Johnson, 'where is poetry to be found?' The remainder of the century—until the French Revolution—was much dominated by Pope's influence. It produced no other great poets except Gray, the author of the famous *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, Burns, who wrote in the Scots vernacular, and Blake, an isolated prophet. But Blake and Burns should be regarded as forerunners of the 'Romantic Revival' rather than as poets of the eighteenth century.¹

The second half of the century produced the greatest historian who has ever written in the English language. Gibbon Edward Gibbon (1737-94) was born at Putney of well-to-do parents, his comments on his parentage (in his *Autobiography*) are highly characteristic of the man and of the age. 'My lot might have been that of a slave, a savage or a peasant, nor can I reflect without pleasure on the bounty of Nature, which cast my birth in a free and civilized country, in an age of science and philosophy, in a family of honourable rank, and decently endowed with the gifts of fortune.' He was a precocious boy, and his prodigious learning was the result of his own exertions. Gibbon at Oxford The fourteen months which he spent at Magdalen College, Oxford (aged 15), he describes as 'the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life.' He gives a devastating, though probably exaggerated, account of the life of the Magdalen dons—'decent easy men, who supremely enjoyed the gifts of the founder, their days were filled by a series of uniform employments, the chapel and the hall, the coffee-house and the common room, till they retired, weary and well satisfied, to a long slumber. From the toil of reading, or thinking, or writing, they had absolved their conscience.'² Gibbon's own life was the opposite of all this. He was a born scholar, and read widely—Greek, Latin, French, and English authors. Though some have quarrelled with his prejudices, none have ever questioned the soundness of his learning, which, considering the vast scale of his work, was stupendous. His great book, the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (published 1776) covers thirteen centuries of European history, from the Age of the Antonines

¹ See below, p. 698

² Gibbon, *Autobiography*.

(c. A.D. 150) to the fall of Constantinople (1453) Gibbon was one of the greatest masters of the English language. His incomparable style must be studied to be appreciated, his grand prose seems to march on from page to page, from chapter to chapter, like the conquering armies of the Romans he so much admired.

Another very typical—perhaps the most typical—product of the age was Samuel Johnson (1709–84). Johnson had not the advantage, which Gibbon notes with so much satisfaction, of being born of wealthy parents. His father was a struggling Lichfield bookseller, and though Samuel was sent to Pembroke College, Oxford, he had to leave without taking a degree, his father died in poverty shortly afterwards. Johnson, after teaching at a private school, went to London to seek his fortune, and scraped a living as a journalist. Among other employments, he wrote the account of the Parliamentary debates for the *Gentleman's Magazine*. When he was nearly forty, he was commissioned to write a Dictionary, the publication of which brought him fame.

In his later middle age and old age, Johnson was the centre of an admiring literary circle in London. His immense learning, his scathing wit, and his downright judgements on every subject under the sun, made him the best-known character in town. His extraordinary personality still lives in the pages of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. This biography contains not only the most minute account of the sayings and doings of one man ever written, but also gives a faithful picture of that eighteenth-century London society in which the Doctor lived. Boswell, says Macaulay, 'is the first of biographers. He has no second. He has distanced all his competitors so decidedly that it is not worth while to place them.' Boswell was consumed with a passion for noting down the sayings of the great, his enormous industry has made the figure of Dr. Johnson one of the most familiar in our literature. The brilliant pen-picture which Macaulay painted of the Doctor was derived from a reading of Boswell. Everything about Johnson, says Macaulay, is familiar to us—

'his coat, his wig, his figure, his face, his St. Vitus' Dance, his rolling walk, his blinking eye, the outward signs which too clearly

marked his approbation of his dinner his inextinguishable thirst for tea, his trick of touching the posts as he walked, his mysterious practice of treasuring up scraps of orange peel, his morning slumbers, his midnight disputations, his gruntings, his puffings, his vehemence, his insolence, his fits of tempestuous rage.¹

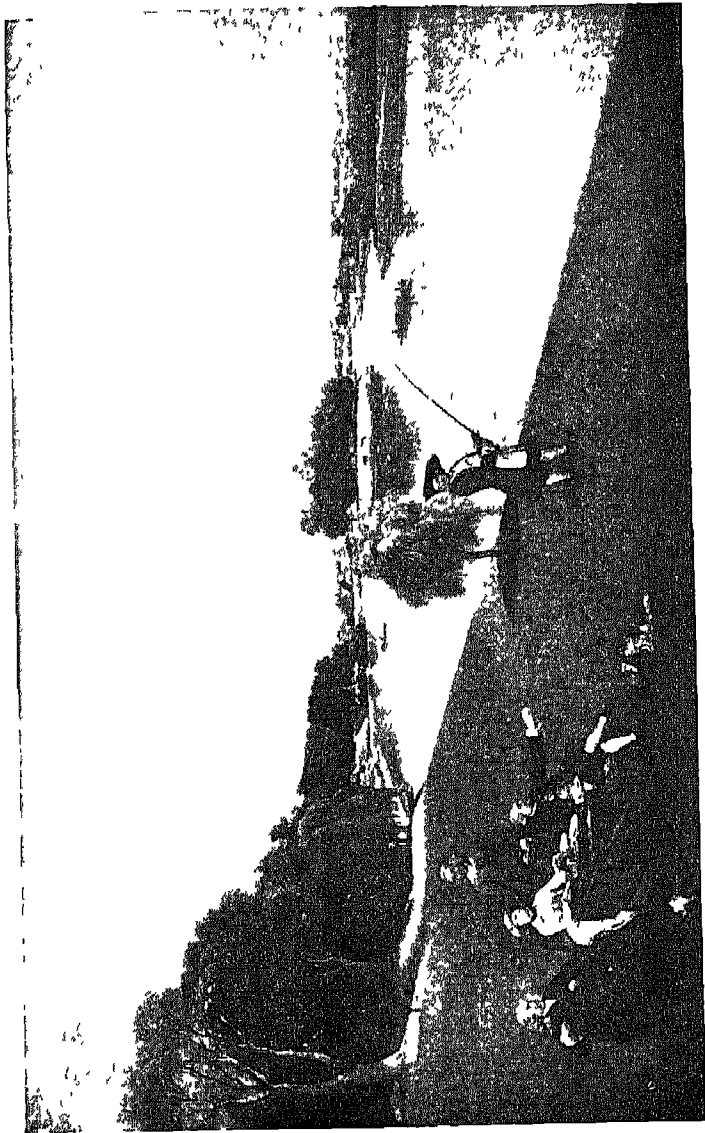
No man so hardy as to dispute with the Doctor when he was roused—or woe betide him! One Sir Adam Ferguson ventured to express the opinion that in English politics it was important to preserve a balance against the Crown. The Doctor, who was a strong Tory, settled the matter at once. ‘Sir,’ he said, ‘I perceive you are a vile Whig. Why all this childish jealousy of the power of the Crown? The Crown has not power enough!’

2 *The Arts and the World of Fashion*

Fielding, in *Tom Jones*, has drawn a picture of the coarse-minded country squire, which has often been taken as typical of the eighteenth century. But the hunting squire, who was drunk every night of the week, was after all but one type, though a common one, there were also a good many country gentlemen who passed their time in cultured pursuits, and spent their money collecting books, pictures, and furniture. This type is perhaps the best product of the age, it could exist only in a country which was peaceably governed, and where one class at any rate had sufficient wealth to indulge its tastes for the fine things of life. As we look at the country mansions of Georgian England, their parks and gardens, their pictures and their furniture, we can form some idea of the age, not only of Dr Johnson, but of Gainsborough, Wedgwood, and Chippendale.

The
Country
GentlemanArchitec-
ture Sir Christopher Wren died in 1723, the Renaissance architecture, which he had done so much to popularize, was the favourite style in England for another hundred years. The best architects of the eighteenth century were Sir John Vanbrugh, who designed Blenheim Palace as a residence for the Duke of Marlborough, James Gibbs, who built the Senate House at Cambridge and the Radcliffe Library at Oxford—one of the noblest buildings in England, Nicholas Hawksmoor, who built the quadrangle of Queen’s College, Oxford, one of

¹ Macaulay’s description, abridged.



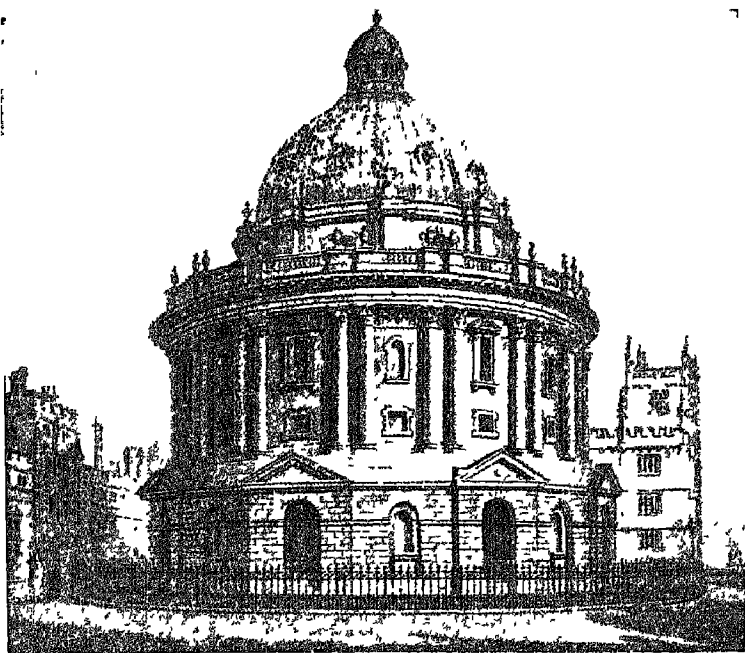
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

The world of literature Mr and Mrs Thrale entertaining Dr Johnson to tea at their house at Richmond
(From the painting by Zoffany in the possession of the Earl of Durham)

- the chief ornaments of the famous High Street, and John Wood of Bath,¹ who was responsible for some of the buildings which have made that beautiful and dignified city unique among English towns. Later architects were the brothers Adam, who designed not only many beautiful houses in London and elsewhere, but furnished them with fine interior panelling and with the famous Adam fire-places. The eighteenth century is a great period of English architecture, the planning and building of Bath was a great achievement, unfortunately not imitated elsewhere, except at Cheltenham. But the growth of London westward from Hyde Park also furnished an opportunity for the erection of those stately buildings which still beautify the city, and which the modern Londoner (of the suburbs) may well envy. And all over England country houses were being built of brick or stone, while the familiar Georgian brick-front can still be seen in every old town in the country.
- Bath**
- The Adam Brothers**
- Georgian houses in London**
- Gardening** After the house, the garden. The eighteenth century was a great gardening age, and during it many of our most beautiful parks were laid out, thousands of acres, too, of new forests were planted. In gardening, we may distinguish two main periods. In the first, the formal garden, which was much in favour under William III (and so is often called the Dutch garden), took pride of place. Trees were carved into fantastic shapes, masses of yew or box were tidily clipped and arranged in symmetrical patterns, and the flower-beds were laid out in geometrical designs. This formal style, however, gave way to a novel type of landscape gardening. Now sculptured hedges and neat walks were discarded. Nature was all the rage, and the landscape-gardener tried by imitating the great original to conform to Nature's plan. Defoe, describing the garden of a great house he saw in Essex, says 'The Walks and Wilderness go to such Distance, and in such a Manner, up to the Hill, that the Sight is lost in the Woods adjoining, and it looks all like one continued planted Garden, as far as the Eye can reach.'²
- The Dutch Garden**
- Landscape Gardening**
- Furniture** Inside the house, the taste of the owner was equally in

¹ Also built Liverpool Town Hall. Birmingham Cathedral, another product of this era, was the work of Thomas Archer (1719), a pupil of Wren.

² Defoe *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*.



GEORGIAN ARCHITECTURE

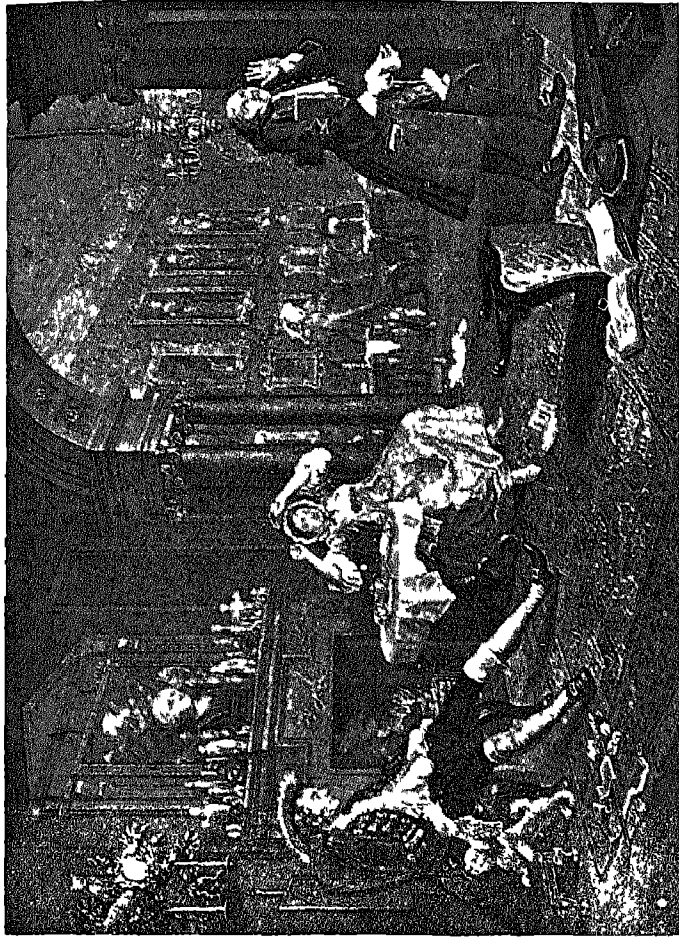
Above, the Radcliffe Library, Oxford, designed by James Gibbs
Below, Edgcote, Northamptonshire, a typical Georgian country house

evidence This was the period of the great furniture-makers, Chippendale, Hepplewhite, and Sheraton (1751-1806) Chippendale, who worked largely in mahogany (a wood imported from the Spanish West Indies), relied on the natural beauty of the wood, Sheraton inlaid the mahogany with satinwood, tulip wood, and even brass The carving of the chairs, tables, and cabinets turned out by these great masters of their art was always of the most careful workmanship

Pottery Another art which flourished in eighteenth-century England was that of pottery making The potteries at Derby, Worcester, and Chelsea were all founded about this time, while in Staffordshire Josiah Wedgwood, greatest of all English potters, set up his famous foundry His most typical pottery was decorated with designs in white, standing out against a plain background, usually blue

Painting Like the English Renaissance in architecture, the Classical school of English painting was much later than its counterpart on the Continent The most famous portraits in Stuart times were painted by Dutchmen—Vandyke and Sir Peter Lely But in the eighteenth century a school of native English painters arose, of whom Hogarth was the forerunner Hogarth painted, or rather caricatured, the life of the common people whom he saw around him, in his 'Gin Lane' he tells a sordid though true story His pictures often formed a series, intended to point a moral, as in 'Rake's Progress' and 'Marriage à la Mode' After Hogarth came the portrait painters—Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Romney The Royal Academy was founded (1768) in this the first considerable period of English painting, Sir Joshua Reynolds was its first President Gainsborough, besides being a portrait painter, was also in the first rank of landscape painters

Music England, which in Elizabeth's day had been the foremost country in Europe for musicians, sadly declined in this respect in the following two centuries No English composer arose after Purcell (died 1695)—none to compare with the great German masters, Bach, Beethoven, and Handel But England at least adopted Handel, who made this country his home for nearly half a century He came to England in 1710, and helped to introduce the Italian opera into London After this, he turned



'MARRIAGE À LA MODE'

The second scene of Hogarth's famous series of pictures. The husband is running himself by gambling. His steward walks away in despair, an account book under his arm and a file of unpaid bills in his hand. The picture illustrates well the interior of a rich man's house in the eighteenth century.

to oratorios, and here he won immediate popularity and enduring fame. Handel's *Messiah* (first performed in Dublin 1742) is probably still the best-known choral work in the British Isles. It was in this period that John Gay wrote the lyrics for *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), one of the most charming and amusing musical comedies ever produced.¹

The Stage The English stage underwent considerable changes in the eighteenth century. In the first place, it was now patronized by polite society and no longer regarded, as in Puritan times, as fit only for the amusement of vulgar and immoral persons. The artificial comedies of Goldsmith and Sheridan filled the London theatres, but far more important than this was the

Revival of Shakespeare In the preceding century it had been the fashion to rewrite Shakespeare's plays and present them under other names, thus, the *Merchant of Venice* became the *Jew of Venice*, and the *Merry Wives* was rewritten as the *Comical Gallant*. Fortunately, there was now a reaction against this barbarous custom, in 1740 *As You Like It* was produced in London for the first time for forty years, next year the *Merchant of Venice* was performed in its original form for the first time for a century. The Shakespearian revival gave an opportunity to one of the greatest actors who have ever lived—

Garrick 1717-1779 David Garrick. He raised the profession of actor to a height never before attained in this country, he was justly regarded as one of the first men in England. It was he who instituted the Shakespearian Festival at Stratford-on-Avon (1769). Later in the century came Sarah Siddons, a beautiful and accomplished actress, whose most famous part was Lady Macbeth.

We have now briefly surveyed the arts and amusements of the upper classes of Hanoverian England—in some respects one of the most highly cultivated societies that have ever existed. The century that produced (besides the Pitts, Clive, and Wolfe) Reynolds and Gainsborough, Gay and Garrick, Chippendale and Wedgwood, Goldsmith and Gibbon, need fear few rivals. But this polite society had its vices. Gambling was a universal passion, thousands of pounds changed hands every night, and estates were thrown away at the card table. And heavy drinking was unfortunately common, among both rich and poor.

¹ It has been revived, with enormous success, in our own times.

To see the eighteenth century at its most typical, we must go to Bath, and imagine the town under the long reign of Beau Nash, king of Fashion, who ruled supreme in the Pump Room and the Assembly Rooms. There a rigid etiquette governed the entire proceedings, there fortunes were won and lost, heiresses wooed, marriages made and unmade. The tune of the stately gavotte fills the ball-room, the white-wigged dancers move sedately to their places, the candles shine on the lovely dresses, the gay silks and satins of men and women. It is all very beautiful, very dignified and very artificial. Nothing was ever allowed to disturb the tranquillity of this world of wigs and powdered faces, of dancing and music and good wine—certainly not the troubles of the poor people of England, or the voice of John Wesley.

3 *The Methodist Revival*

The history of the Methodist Revival, in the reigns of George II and George III, reveals a startling contrast with the picture of England outlined in the preceding pages. When John Wesley visited the west of England, he did not go, like most well-to-do persons, to the Pump Rooms at Bath, he went to preach to the colliers of Kingswood, near Bristol, and to the tinners of the Cornish mines.

John Wesley (1703-91) was the second surviving son of the Reverend Samuel Wesley, Vicar of Epworth in Lincolnshire. He was educated at Charterhouse and at Oxford, where he was ordained, and became a Fellow of Lincoln College. While at Oxford, he began the habit of early rising, which he kept up till extreme old age, Wesley's day began at four in the morning. He and his brother Charles, who was at Oxford with him, were regular attendants at a certain religious society in the University. It was this society which received the college nickname of Methodist—a name which Wesley afterwards adopted for his own societies. In 1735 John Wesley accepted General Oglethorpe's invitation to lead a mission to his newly founded colony of Georgia. The visit was not a success, for Wesley quarrelled with many of the colonists and returned to England a disappointed man.

On his arrival in England (1737) he settled in London, where

John
Wesley
(1703-91)

Wesley at
Oxford

Wesley's
Conversion
1738

he again came under the influence of the religious societies. It was now that he embraced the doctrine of 'Justification by Faith', and he believed that no man's life or actions were of any value unless he had a lively sense that all his sins had been forgiven by Christ. About this time the first Methodist societies were formed in London. The members used to hold long meetings, sometimes lasting all night, and performed orgies of religious devotion, scarcely surpassed in the days of the medieval monastic revivals.

Origin of
the
Methodist
Movement

In conjunction with his brother Charles, and another remarkable man named George Whitefield, Wesley now began a missionary crusade in England and Wales, which was destined to transform the life of the nation. The founders of the movement not only preached all over the country themselves, but sent out field-preachers on a similar mission. Both Wesley and Whitefield preached in the open air—for the doors of the churches were closed to them—to enormous congregations, sometimes numbering 30,000 or 40,000 people. Wesley himself always remained a member of the Church of England, but, by the end of his life, his movement had assumed such large proportions, and was conducted on lines so dissimilar from the Established Church, that a separation was inevitable.

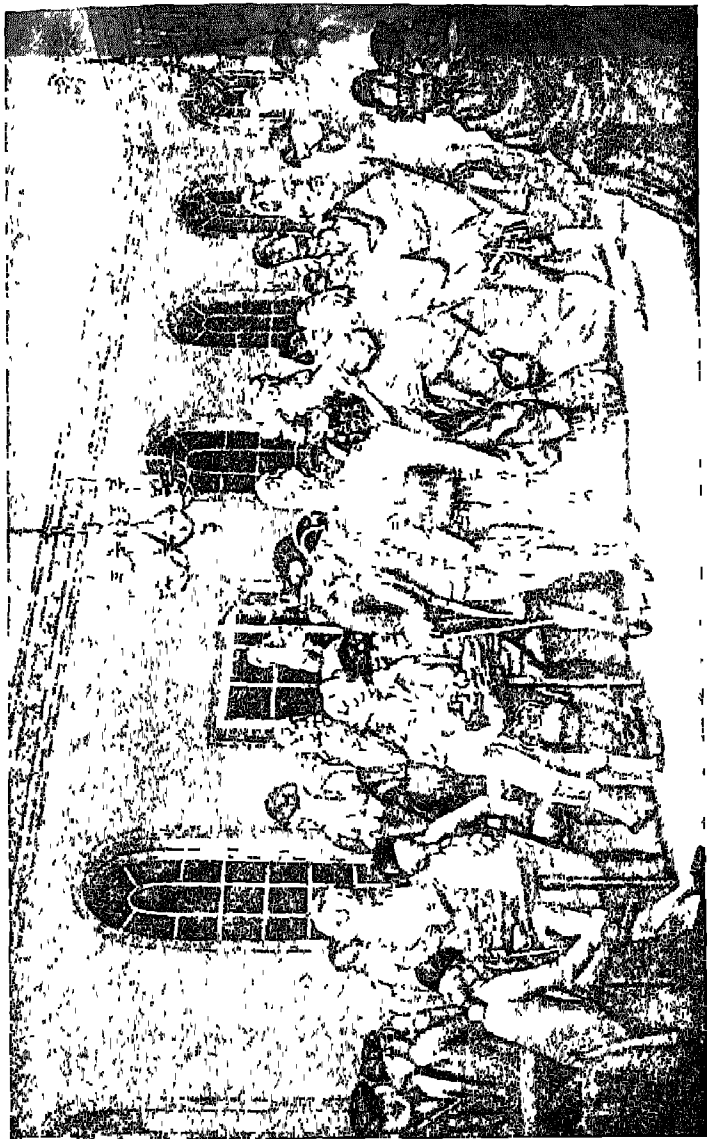
George
Whitefield

Two things contributed largely to the success of both Wesley and Whitefield: their extraordinary energy, and their remarkable powers as preachers. In the latter respect, George Whitefield surpassed Wesley; he was perhaps the most astonishing preacher who had been heard in Europe since the days of the first Friars. The effect of his sermons was amazing; he often caused a large proportion of his congregation to burst out weeping, some even fell to the ground in an agony of remorse.

His
Preaching

He himself rarely preached without being affected by tears. To these semi-hypnotic powers he added all the arts of a great actor. On one occasion, he likened the state of an unconverted sinner to that of an old blind man, tottering towards the edge of a precipice. So realistic was the description, that when the preacher came to the point where the old man falls over the edge of the cliff, Lord Chesterfield, who was listening, called out in alarm, 'Good God! he is gone!'¹

¹ On another occasion, he was preaching to some sailors and used the



EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

The world of pleasure Drinking tea at Baginige Wells, a celebrated London tea-garden (about 1770)

Though Wesley was not Whitefield's equal as a preacher, yet his sermons were attended by thousands of persons a year, and were often accompanied by the same exhibitions of religious fervour as those of Whitefield. In the course of his missionary journeys Wesley travelled thousands of miles a year on horseback, and kept up this remarkable record for nearly half a century, till he was well over eighty. His main centres were London and Bristol. He made one long journey to the west of England nearly every year, and at least one to the north, two of his chief centres were Newcastle-on-Tyne and St Ives in Cornwall. Besides these long journeys, lasting several months, he made several shorter ones—e.g. from London to Bristol and back—in the course of every year.¹

Wesley's
Journeys

Attitude of
the Clergy

Their
dislike of
Enthusiasm

The reception given to the early Methodists by the clergy of the Established Church was an extremely hostile one. They were outraged that any man, particularly any clergyman, should presume to employ the method of field-preaching and attract the poor and ignorant to hear sermons preached in the style of St Francis or Peter the Hermit. The English clergy were, on the whole, a quiet body of men, fond of their libraries and their gardens, but they confined their preaching activities to one weekly sermon. Worthy men though they were in many ways, the clergy were devoid of religious zeal of any kind, and they hated nothing so much as the 'enthusiasm' (i.e. fanaticism) of the Methodists. Wesley's mission was, like that of the first Disciples, to preach the Gospel of Christ to every creature. He found, over large districts of England and Wales, that the people were neglected by those whose duty it

image of a ship lost in a storm. 'How the waves arise and dash against the ship! Our masts are gone! The ship is on her beam-ends! What next?' 'The long boat, take to the long boat!' cried out his excited audience.

¹ Two consecutive years may be taken as examples 1744 (Jan) London, Bristol (Mar-Apr) Cornwall, Somerset, S. Wales (May-June) Bristol, Staffs, Epworth, Yorkshire, Newcastle, Durham, Lancs, Cheshire, London (July) Bristol (Aug) Oxford, Bristol, London (Nov) Bath, Bristol 1745 (Jan) Bristol (Feb-Apr) Notts, Durham, Newcastle, Yorks, Derbyshire, Wednesbury, Oxford, London (June-Aug) Bristol, Cornwall, S. Wales (Sept-Nov) Newcastle, Sheffield, Leeds, Epworth, Newcastle, Yorks, Cheshire, Birmingham, London (See Wesley's *Journal*).

was to instruct them. This accounts for the rage of the clergy at his success, he preached to the mob, and in revenge the clergy let loose hostile mobs upon him

There is no doubt that the early persecutions which the Methodists endured were the result of the stirring up of the mob by hostile clergy and gentry. The two Wesleys and their followers had to face the most violent persecution during the first few years of their ministry. At Wednesbury and Darlaston, in Staffordshire, terrible scenes were witnessed. At Darlaston the mob broke into a Methodist's house and carried away all his goods, 'not satisfied with this, they sought for him and his wife, swearing they would knock their brains out. Their little children meanwhile wandered up and down, no one daring to relieve or take them in, lest they should hazard their own lives.' At Birmingham the houses of all the Methodists were attacked. 'They first broke all their windows, suffering neither glass, lead nor frames to remain therein. Then they made their way in, and all the tables, chairs, chests of drawers . . . they dashed in pieces. What they could not well break, as feather beds, they cut in pieces, and strewed about the room.' At St Ives, in Cornwall, Charles Wesley had just begun to preach, when a mob broke into the meeting-house. They broke up everything, windows, shutters, benches, poor-box—all but the stone walls. At Towednack, near by, 'they assaulted us (says Charles Wesley) with sticks and stones and endeavoured to pull me down. I bade them strike me and spare the people. Many lifted up their hands and weapons, but were not permitted to touch me. My time is not yet come.'

Mob
Violence

Charles
Wesley

The courage with which the Wesleys faced these ordeals, however, eventually won them the respect of their enemies. And when it was established that the Methodists were neither political agitators, nor Papists, nor agents of the Pretender (the worst riots were in 1745), they were suffered to go in peace. After 1745 the persecution died down, and the new movement grew in strength from year to year.

Courage of
the Wesleys

It is time to consider the condition of English society which the work of the Wesleys revealed. It is not too much to say that large sections of the people were living in conditions of such hardship, such danger and discomfort, and even of such

Condition
of the Poor

absolute bestiality as cannot now be easily conceived. The Cornish tinnerns, for example, among whom Wesley preached for fifty years, worked underground, 'with hardly any room to turn their bodies, wet to the skin by the glimmering of a small candle, whose scattered rays will barely penetrate the thick darkness of the place' ¹ A doctor who worked among these miners saw his patient conveyed to a hut 'full of naked children destitute of all conveniences, and almost of all necessities. The whole, indeed, is a scene of such complicated wretchedness and distress as words have no power to describe' ²

The moral condition of such people was as deplorable as their physical state. Drunkenness was common in every village. Brutal sports, such as cock-fighting and bear-baiting, were usual, and 'games' of football, played in the village streets, were bloody encounters between half-savage men, who kicked and hacked at one another like wild beasts. Boxing matches between women attracted large crowds. This, too, was the heyday of smuggling, and of the even more pernicious practice of 'wrecking', which was especially prevalent on our western shores. Poor sailors wrecked on the English coast, and seeking help, found 'the Rocks themselves not more merciless than the People who range about them for Prey'. The wreckers used to murder the sailors, break up the ships, and carry away what goods they could.

Civilizing
influence of
Methodism

Turning to the results of the Methodist movement, we may take first the benefits it conferred on England. First and foremost, Wesley and his preachers brought the mass of the people, formerly abandoned by polite society to their own barbarous habits, into contact with a more Christian and civilized life. Wesley forbade his followers to engage in the drunken or fighting orgies then common among the poorer classes, and the leaven which the Methodists thus introduced acted in time upon the whole community. 'These indefatigable men', wrote a Church of England clergyman about the Methodists, 'have perseveringly taught, gradually reclaimed, and at length completely reformed, a large body of men, who, without their

¹ Clarke, *Tour through South England*, 1791

² Pryce, *Mineralogia Cornubiensis*, 1778



EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Low life A street scene on May Day in London (about 1780)

exertions, would still have been immersed in the deepest spiritual darkness, and the grossest moral turpitude '1

The Evangelical Movement during his lifetime did not cease at his death. The Evangelical Movement in the Church of England, which was a reaction against eighteenth-century indifference and a return to Puritanism, was a direct outcome of the Methodist movement. Many followers of John Wesley (like Wesley himself) could not bear to break with the Established Church, and remained within it. One of the best results, both of Methodism and of Evangelicalism, was the growth of a more humane spirit in English life, which led in time to the abolition of the Slave Trade, and to the ending of the more barbarous forms of 'amusement' in this country.

Defects of
Methodism

There is, however, another side to the picture. Wesley's power was founded largely on an appeal to the emotion of fear. He was himself an extremely superstitious man, and he believed—and he impressed his belief on his hearers—that dreadful consequences, both in this world and the next, would follow a disregard of his message. Besides this, there was something harsh and uncompromising about John Wesley, as can be seen from his instructions to the school which he founded at Kingswood, Bristol. 'We have no play-day (he says), the school being taught every day in the year but Sunday, neither do we allow any time for play on any day, he that plays when he is a child will play when he is a man.' Again, Wesley set his face, not only against drunkenness and street-fighting, but against the most innocent amusements and recreations. He was thus largely responsible for the transformation of the Merry—too merry—England of the eighteenth century which he knew into the joyless England of the Victorian Sunday.

Wesley's
School

¹ Warner's *Tour*, 1800

XXX

THE CHANGE TO INDUSTRIAL ENGLAND

I *The Land and the Enclosures*

ENGLAND in 1700 was still chiefly a land of villages, there were no big towns except London, and agriculture was the occupation of the vast majority of the people. A large proportion of the arable land in England was still farmed on the old open-field system, which had endured from Saxon or earlier times. In some counties, particularly in the south-east (Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Essex), large enclosures of land had taken place in Tudor times, and much of the land was there cut up into farms in the modern manner. But, except in these instances, England presented what would be to us an unfamiliar picture: large open fields, without hedges or fences, surrounding each village. These open fields were divided among the villagers as they had been from time immemorial, the 'custom' of the village had decided the size and position of the 'strips' to which each man was entitled.

Farming in 1700

The Open-Field-System

Next in importance to agriculture came spinning and cloth-making, and that, too, was carried on in the country, where the people made the home-spun woollen cloth in their own cottages. Defoe, writing in 1725, thus describes the wool industry under this system, as he saw it in Yorkshire:

Industry in 1700

'Though we met few people without doors, yet within we saw the houses full of lusty fellows, some at the dye-vat, some at the loom, others dressing the cloths, the women and children carding or spinning, all employed from the youngest to the oldest, scarce anything above four years old, but its hands were sufficient for its own support. Not a beggar to be seen nor an idle person, except here and there in an almshouse built for those that are ancient, and past working.'¹

Such, in brief, was rural England of 200 years ago. Two tremendous changes, both of which took place during the second half of the eighteenth century, altered this old England.

Two great changes

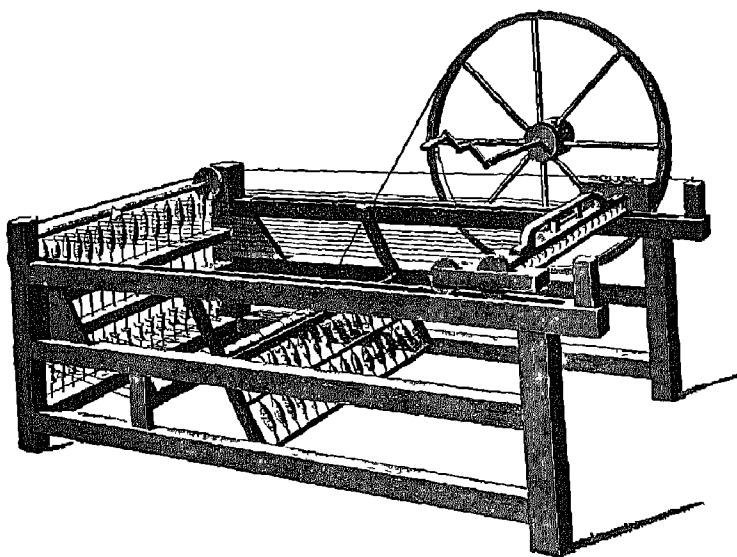
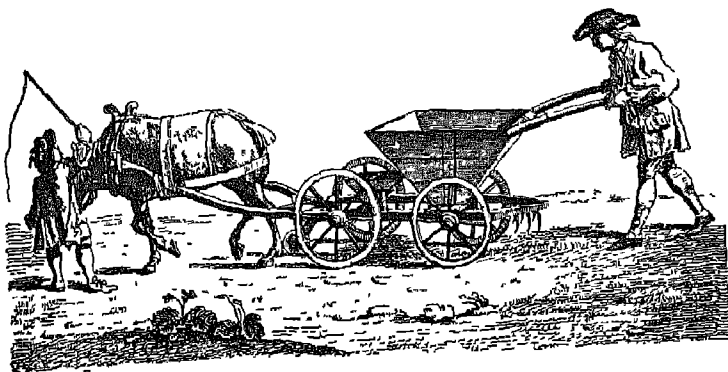
¹ Defoe, *Tour of Great Britain*

beyond all recognition. These two changes were the enclosure of the common-fields and the coming of power-driven machinery. The former process destroyed the age-long system of strip-farming, the latter gradually destroyed the 'domestic' or household system, as applied to the cloth industry, as well as minor village industries, and substituted for these the factory system which still dominates British industry.

The Enclosures of the eighteenth century were accompanied by a revolution in the methods of farming as they had been practised for thousands of years. Pioneers of scientific farming saw that the old methods were wasteful and inefficient and set about devising improvements. Among the pioneers was Jethro Tull, who invented a machine—ominous word¹—for sowing seed, which took the place of the human sower, scattering seed from a basket. Tull's machine was called a drill, and he described it in these words: 'It makes the channels, sows the seeds into them, and covers them at the same time, with great exactness and precision.' Another pioneer was Lord Townshend, who retired from politics in 1730,¹ and for the next thirty years devoted himself to farming on his Norfolk estate. 'Turnip' Townshend, as he was called, adopted a new rotation of crops, still known as the Norfolk or four-course system. Under the old system, the farmer had to allow one-third of his land to lie fallow each year, since the soil would not bear corn crops more than two years running. Townshend proved that, by planting root crops (turnips and mangolds) and clover, *all* the land could always be kept under cultivation, and further that the planting of the turnips and clover had beneficial effects on the soil. Townshend's rotation of crops was—turnips, barley or oats, clover, wheat. This system not only had the effect of improving the land but provided winter food for cattle, which meant fresh meat throughout the winter. Another Norfolk man who did much to introduce (from about 1778) the new methods of farming was Squire Coke of Holkham.

Next came vast improvements in the breeding of sheep and cattle. One of the first men to apply himself to this subject was Robert Bakewell (1725–95) of Dishley in Leicestershire, whose

¹ See above, p. 585. Townshend, like other agricultural improvers, got many of his ideas from the Continent, especially Holland.



THE COMING OF MACHINERY

Above, a four-wheel drill-plough with seed and manure hoppers (about 1745) *Below*, Hargreaves's spinning jenny (see p 664)

first experiments were made with the Longhorn breed of cattle Bakewell also turned his attention to sheep, and the Leicestershire sheep which he bred were very fine animals He specialized in producing large, fat sheep, paying less attention to the quality of the wool, and it is said that the new breed of sheep were two or even three times as heavy as the old Charles Colling, of Ketton, near Darlington, followed Bakewell's methods, and succeeded in producing the Shorthorn breed of cattle, which are now famous all over the world

The need for Enclosure It was easy to see that, as soon as the new methods of farming became widely known, the old system of English agriculture would collapse Population was increasing rapidly, and yet the land was producing only a fraction of what it might To bring in the new methods, it was necessary to do away with the strip system, for small farmers, owning only a few acres each, were conservative and disinclined to try any novelty Besides, the strip system was obviously not only antiquated but wasteful So it came about that, during the second half of the eighteenth century, thousands of acres of strips were 'enclosed' to make compact fields and farms Enclosures were sometimes brought about by mutual consent, but often it was necessary to promote a special Act of Parliament in order to overcome the obstinacy—as it seemed to the promoters—of the villagers

Enclosure Acts Between 1702 and 1750, 112 such Acts were passed, between 1750 and 1810, 2,920 In 1801 came the General Enclosure Act, which rendered easier the process of enclosure During the whole century, about $2\frac{3}{4}$ million acres of common-fields, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ million acres of waste, were thus enclosed by Act of Parliament, these figures, of course, take no account of land otherwise enclosed

Enclosures were of two kinds (a) enclosure of the common or waste, which was reclaimed for the plough, and (b) enclosure of the open (the fenceless) fields, by redistributing the land, i.e. splitting it up into modern farms, divided by hedges It was this latter system which caused the greatest amount of distress

Distress caused by Enclosure When the land came to be re-divided, many poor persons were unable to show a legal right to their share of it, which had usually been determined by village custom And even if they could show a legal right, the poor were often unable to pay the

cost of hedging, and so had to sell their share, in either case they lost their land. They also lost the right to graze animals on the waste and to collect fuel. And so the old village system, under which every householder had his little bit of land, disappeared from England. Its place was taken by a new system of farming, admittedly less wasteful and producing far better results, but involving, nevertheless, considerable hardships.

Arthur
Young

Arthur Young, who spent most of his life urging improvements in farming and advocating Enclosure, was yet obliged to own in his later years that much suffering had been caused. In 1801 Young wrote 'By nineteen out of twenty Enclosure Acts, the poor are injured, and most grossly'

The loss of their land, by causing the villagers great distress, drove many of them into the towns,¹ to seek their fortune in the new industries which steam-power was bringing into the world. There is no greater change in England's history than this: that the mass of the population was driven from the countryside, so that England, which in 1750 had been largely rural, was by 1850 largely urban. It was, in many respects, a change for the worse, as some of the victims themselves foresaw. Here is part of a petition, addressed to Parliament in 1797, by the men of Raunds in Northamptonshire

Petition
against
Enclosure

'A ruinous effect of this enclosure will be the almost total depopulation of their town, now filled with bold and hardy husbandmen, from among whom, and the inhabitants of other open parishes, the nation has hitherto derived its greatest strength and glory, in the supply of its fleets and armies; and driving them, from necessity and want of employ, in vast crowds, into manufacturing towns, where the very nature of their employment, over the loom or the forge, soon may waste their strength, and consequently debilitate their posterity, and by imperceptible degrees obliterate that great principle of obedience to the Laws of God and their country, which forms the character of the simple and artless villagers, more equally distributed through the open counties, and on which so much depends the good order and government of the State'

¹ It should be remembered that the village industries were declining at the same time as the Enclosures were taking place, owing to the rise of the new industries, to be described in the next section. This, again, drove the poor into the towns.

This petition was not drawn up by one of the 'simple and artless villagers!' But it was drawn up by some one who foresaw only too truly the wretched fate which awaited them and their children in the new industrial towns. Oliver Goldsmith, in his *Deserted Village*, laments the passing of the old English village, where the country parson was 'passing rich with forty pounds a year', and where 'every rood of ground maintained its man' *The Deserted Village*

Ill fares the land, to hast'ning ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay,
Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade—
A breath can make them, as a breath has made—
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroy'd can never be supplied

2 *The Coming of Machines*

In the eighteenth century a change developed in the method and scale of industry more far-reaching in its effects than all the wars and politics of the period, for the coming of machinery meant that an entirely new phase was opening in the history of human occupations *The Industrial Revolution*

The England over which 'Farmer George' began to reign in 1760 was still, as we have seen, chiefly a land of farmers, and such small industries as were carried on were also country pursuits. But, by the time George III died, this was irrevocably changed, the nation of farmers and village craftsmen had become mainly a nation of mechanics and factory 'hands'. For it was in Britain that the new machines had their first home, it was a few Britons who invented or applied them. The name 'Industrial Revolution' is usually given to this stupendous change; but it should be remembered that this change in industry was gradual, that it cannot be dated from any particular year, and that in our own day it has been spreading from Britain to all the countries of the world. The age of steam has been followed by the age of petrol and electricity, and we cannot tell what new scientific devices will, in as short a space of time, transform the lives of our descendants.

In this section we shall consider only the first phase of this

Industrial 'Revolution'.¹ The first inventions were applied to the old woollen industry, and to the new manufacture of cotton, which sprang up in south Lancashire. It was in 1733 that John Kay, of Bury, Lancashire, invented his 'flying shuttle', a mechanical device which greatly increased the speed at which the weavers of cloth could work. Kay's invention led to the gradual disappearance of the old hand-loom, and the adoption of the power-loom. The first power-looms were worked by water, hundreds of them were set up in Lancashire on the slopes of the Pennines, by the banks of moorland streams. Here, in deserted spots, their ruins can still be seen—a reminder of the brief reign of water-power, before the invention of steam-engines caused the cotton industry to move to the Lancashire coalfield.

The new power-looms wove the cloth so fast that the spinners (still working on the old-fashioned spindle) could not keep pace with the demand for more cotton. Then, though not till thirty years after Kay's invention, Hargreaves invented the multiple spinning 'jenny' (1764), which made it possible for one man to work at first eight, and later a hundred, spindles. The 'jenny' was soon improved by Richard Arkwright, who developed the 'spinning frame' (1771) worked by water-power, and a few years later by Crompton, whose 'mule' (1779) combined the merits of both Hargreaves' and Arkwright's machines.

It was not till 1785—fifty years after Kay's first machine—that one of Watt's steam-engines (which we shall consider presently) was first used in a cotton mill. But in these fifty years Lancashire cotton trade had grown at an astonishing rate, and it was to grow still more in the future, Lancashire, for another 150 years, was destined to be the main supplier of machine-made cotton goods to the world.² A combination of circumstances made the prosperity of Lancashire. The damp climate suited the cotton-thread, Liverpool and the Mersey were convenient for importing raw cotton from America and exporting cotton goods to the whole world.³ An old-established

¹ For later developments see Chapters XXV, XLI, and XLV.

² Lancashire imported 8,000 tons of raw cotton in 1760, 25,000 tons in 1800, and 300,000 tons in 1861.

³ See Section 5.

woollen industry was the stem from which the cotton industry developed. Finally, the south Lancashire coal-field was ready for use when steam-power came to drive the wheels of industry. The new inventions were also applied to the woollen industry, which did not, however, grow at so rapid a rate as the cotton. Woollen stuffs were not suitable for export to the tropics, one of the main markets for cottons. The old-established woollen trade resisted change, whereas cotton was new and welcomed it, and sheep could not be produced so quickly or in such large quantities as cotton-plants.

There were also great developments in the coal and iron industries. The manufacture of iron had been carried on in England from early times. Iron is extracted from the iron-stone (or iron ore) by heating the latter until the metal is separated from it. The heating agent used for centuries in this process had been wood charcoal, hence the first English ironworks were in Sussex, in the great Forest of Weald.¹ But timber became scarce and production fell. Then came the discovery that it was possible to turn coal into coke, and use it instead of charcoal in the smelting process.

The first man to use coke in furnaces was Abraham Darby (the elder), at Coalbrookdale in Shropshire (1709). His son, of the same name, improved on his methods, and by the middle of the century coke was used in all the various heating processes by which iron is refined and made fit for use. The increase in the production of iron was startling; England in 1737 produced between 12,000 and 15,000 tons of iron, in 1806 over 250,000 tons. This revolution in the iron industry led to the development of the coal-fields—in which Britain was found to be singularly rich—in the Black Country, south Wales, south Yorkshire, south Lancashire, the Tyne, and the Clyde.

Steam-engines had for some time been used for pumping water out of coal-mines. It was in 1776 that John Wilkinson, iron-master, first used the steam-engine for 'blowing' in blast-furnaces, and soon steam-power entirely took the place of water-power in all the processes of the iron industry, and also in the cotton industry. In fact the steam-engine soon supplied

¹ Ironworks were also set up in other places, e.g. the Midlands and Yorkshire, in order to tap fresh supplies of timber.

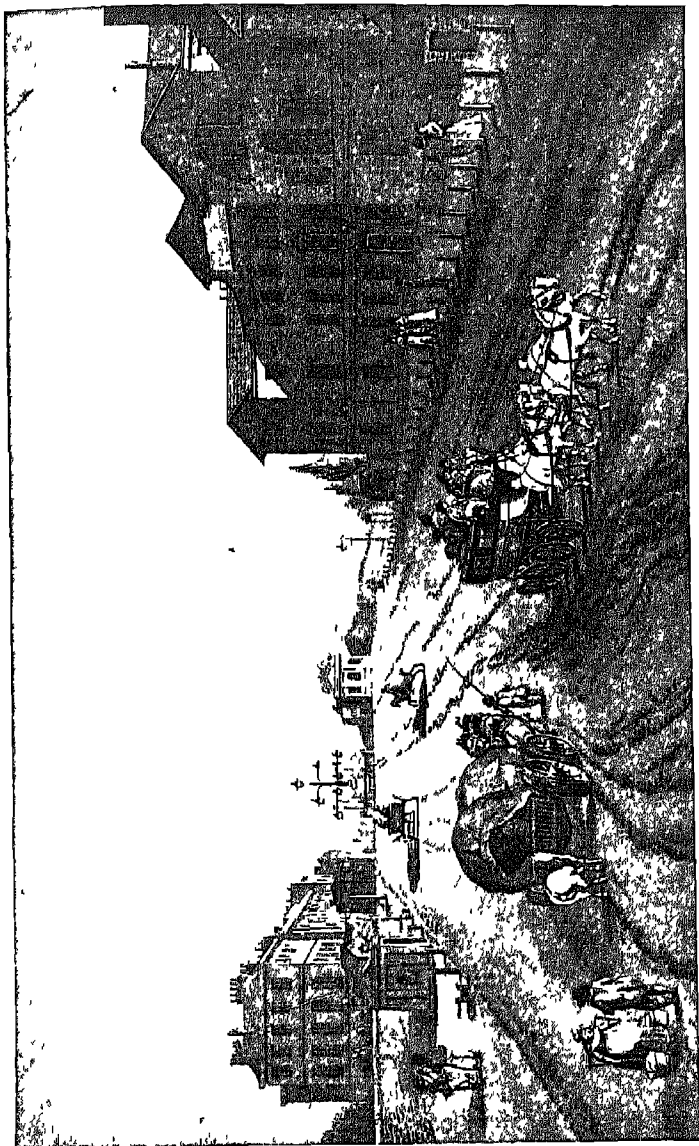
the motive power for all the industries which transformed England.

The inventor of a practical and economical steam-engine was James Watt, an instrument-maker of Glasgow. Watt was a cross-grained, melancholy man,¹ who suffered from headaches, his workmen, when he had any, suffered from his bad temper. There had been steam-engines before Watt's, but they were not very effective, because no one had thought of making what is called the 'separate condenser'. The secret of the steam-engine is said to have occurred to Watt in 1765, he patented his invention four years later. But he had to wait some years longer, owing to lack of money, before he could make any use of his discovery. Then he had the luck to be taken into partnership (1775) by an enterprising business man, Matthew Boulton, whose works were at Soho, near Birmingham. The partnership of Boulton and Watt was successful because Watt's inventive powers were sound, and his deficiencies as a business man—which were considerable—were more than made up by the capable Boulton. From the day when 'Iron-mad' Wilkinson (1728-1808) tried one of Watt's engines in his blast-furnace at Bilston (Staffs), and found it satisfactory, all went well. The original partners of the firm of Boulton and Watt continued in business for another quarter of a century, and made a large fortune. By 1800 the steam-engine was being used in coal-mines, in iron-furnaces, and in the textile industries.

3 Roads and Canals

The new age ushered in by the machines could not have flourished under the old conditions of transport, which had endured for generations in England. But the coming of machinery coincided with an improvement in the transport of goods, the production of coal, iron, and other heavy materials necessitated the making, first of canals (in the eighteenth century) and then of railways (in the nineteenth century). At

¹ 'If one man in the history of the world is to be taken as the author of modern civilization, it is this melancholy mechanic, in whose outlook on life the superstitious might perhaps discern a warning of its ambiguous blessings' (Hammond, *Rise of Modern Industries*)



THE IMPROVEMENT OF ROAD TRANSPORT

The Hyde Park Corner Turnpike in 1798 A waggon from the country, drawn by six horses, is on the left, and a coach-and-four on the right

the same time as the canals were made, the roads were improved

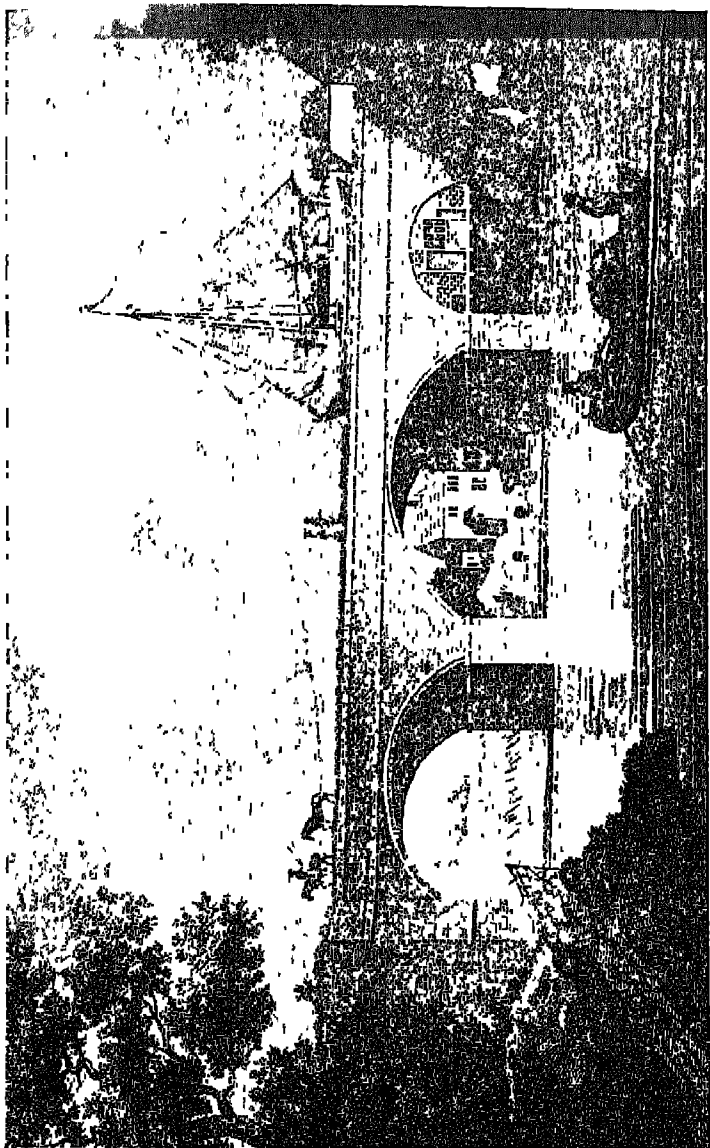
The great roads which the Romans built in this country were magnificent feats of early engineering, but fourteen centuries of neglect had considerably reduced their original excellence. During all that time no worthy successors of the Roman roads were built. pack-horses, using rough tracks, carried light goods and the mails, heavy traffic usually got stuck in the mud. Teams of pack-horses carried the wool down the Yorkshire dales to the Humber¹; even coal was so carried from Merthyr to Cardiff, until the making of a road down the Taff Vale (1767). Many heavy goods were carried by sea, it is because Britain is an island that the badness of her roads was not earlier remedied. Coals had for centuries come from Newcastle to London by sea.

The unpleasant conditions of travel, which have been described in an earlier chapter,² remained with little alteration till the middle of the eighteenth century. A beginning was indeed made earlier, in Charles II's time, with the institution of Turnpike Trusts, by which local authorities were empowered to erect toll-gates, and repair the roads with the proceeds of the toll. But village activity did not go much beyond filling up an occasional pit in the highway, it was not till the eighteenth century that Turnpike Trusts were organized on a larger scale, and a real step forward in road-making was taken. Coaches were then able to travel much faster, the 'Flying Coach' (1754) advertised speed in the following terms: 'However incredible it may appear, this coach will actually (barring accidents) arrive in London in four days and a half after leaving Manchester.'

The eighteenth century produced three great road engineers — Metcalfe, Telford, and Macadam. Metcalfe (1717-1810), known as Blind Jack of Knaresborough, had lost his sight through small-pox at the age of six, yet he knew the wild moors of Yorkshire by heart. He designed many of the chief roads in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire. Thomas Telford

¹ The wool was taken all over England in the same manner. One may often notice the name 'Wool-pack Inn.'

² Chapter XXIV (Age of Newton and Wren).



THE AGE OF CANAL-BUILDING

The Bridgewater Canal at Barton Bridge, where it is carried across the river Irwell

(1757-1834), a Scottish shepherd's son, built the Holyhead Road, and he excited the wonder of his contemporaries by constructing the iron suspension-bridge over the Menai Straits (opened 1826), the longest (1,000 feet) suspension bridge in this country

It was John Loudon Macadam (1756-1836) who invented an entirely new process of road-making (c. 1810). It consisted in using small stones, which could be easily crushed (more easily after the invention of the steam-roller) to form a hard yet fairly smooth surface,¹ 'no stone', Macadam said, 'should be larger than the road-mender could put in his mouth'. Macadam's discovery has been an immense boon to travellers, from the stage-coach users in 'good King George's golden days' to the modern motorist. It transformed travelling conditions, and in 1824 (the year before the first railway) the Manchester-London coach did the journey in twenty-four hours. The days of the stage-coach in all its glory were, however, not long, for by the next generation railways had come to divert the main traffic into another channel. The coaching inns had to wait for the motor-car before they saw a revival of their prosperity.

More closely connected with industry was the era of canal building, which had been preceded by a good deal of 'canalization' of rivers. English canals, constructed during the second half of the eighteenth century, were built chiefly for the transport of coal. The Duke of Bridgewater, who was a large colliery owner, employed James Brindley (1716-72), a brilliant engineer but an illiterate man, to build a canal between Worsley and Manchester (1761). Bridgewater encountered much opposition in Parliament; as Brindley wrote 'The Toores mad had agane ye Duk'.² But, when the canal opened, the cost of carrying goods between the two towns fell from 12s to 6s a ton.

Encouraged by Bridgewater's success, canal companies immediately sprang up all over England. The Grand Trunk Canal linked Manchester and Hull with Birmingham and Bristol. Telford, the road engineer, built a number of canals in England and Wales, in his native country he built the famous

¹ When tar-spraying was invented in the present century, the Macadam roads were given a new name—Tar-mac.

² 'The Tories made head against the Duke.'

Caledonian Canal Workmen employed in canal-making were known as 'navigators', from which we get the familiar word 'navvy'

The interval between the opening of the Bridgewater Canal in 1761 and the opening of the Stockton and Darlington Railway (the first railway) in 1825, was one of sixty-four years. During this period, which may be taken as the first phase of the Industrial Revolution, canals were the principal means of transport for coal, iron, and the products of the new industries. After that the canal, like its contemporary the stage-coach, was overshadowed by the latest application of Watt's invention—the steam locomotive

The
Canal Age

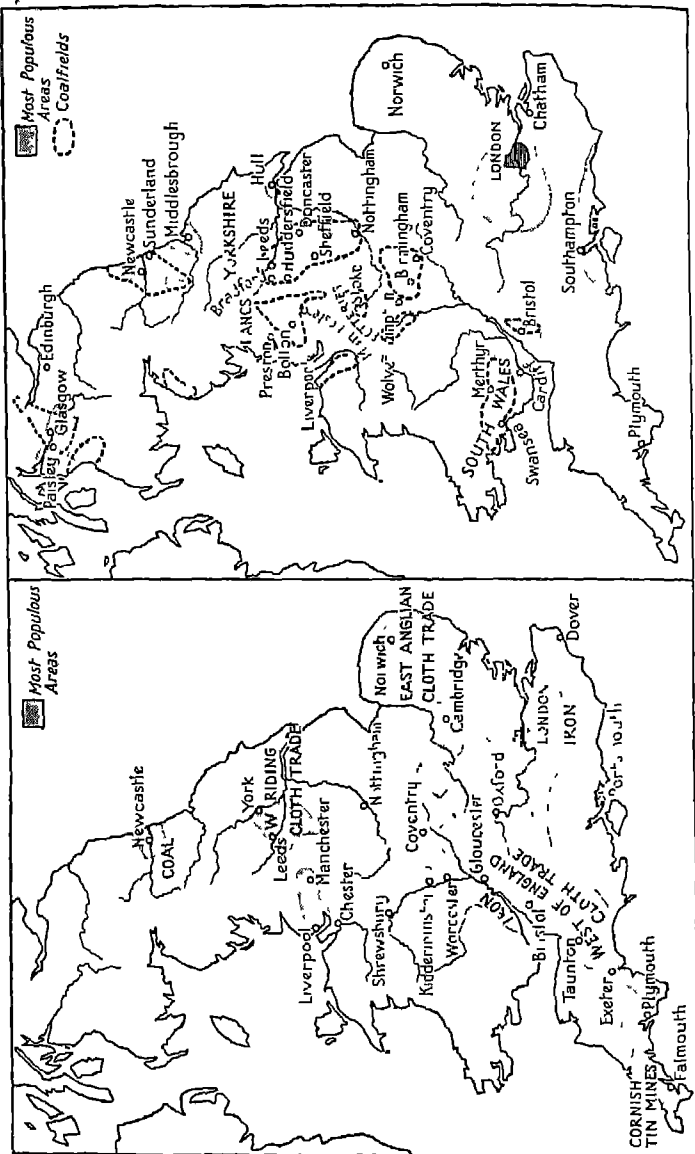
4 *The New Towns*

The change from the old to the new England coincided with a remarkable increase in the population. The number of people living in England and Wales at the accession of George III (1760) was about 7 millions, that is to say, it had risen slowly from perhaps $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions during the seven centuries since the Norman Conquest. In the sixty years of George III's reign, the population of England and Wales nearly doubled, it was 12 millions in 1821.¹ This increase was continued during the nineteenth century at an even greater rate, the population was more than trebled during the hundred years 1821-1921, being 40 millions in the latter year. All the reasons for these remarkable increases are not clear, but it seems probable that they were connected with the change from a rural to an urban society. It is possible that the new urban workers married earlier and had larger families than had been customary under the old conditions of rural life.

The
Population
of England
and Wales

This new urban population grew up in the industrial districts, which were themselves the products of the new machines. East Anglia and the Cotswolds, earlier centres of the wool trade, lacked coal-fields, and soon became the pleasant old-world backwaters they still remain. Norwich, which for centuries had been the third largest town in England, after London and

¹ In 1801 the first Census was taken, the Census has been taken at ten-year intervals since then. Estimates of population before 1801 are, of course, not very accurate.



ENGLAND BEFORE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, 1730

MAP OF INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN, 1930

The total population in 1730 was about 6 millions in 1930 about 45 millions.

Bristol, had sunk to the tenth place by 1801, while such places as Birmingham, Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Bradford, and Sheffield grew to be huge, sprawling cities, far bigger than anything the old Britain had known (except London)—and far uglier.

The New
Towns

A glance at the map (see opposite page) will show where the thickly populated industrial areas lay. With the exception of London, they were all the creation of the Industrial Revolution, during which time there were immigrations of people from the south to the midlands and north—which were for long the most important manufacturing areas in the world. This change took place during (roughly) the half century 1775–1825, and though some of the districts once so prosperous are now unfortunately derelict areas (e.g. south Wales and Tyneside), the general picture remains much the same to-day.

This new industrial Britain came into existence during that remarkable half-century in which Britain lost the thirteen American colonies and helped to defeat Napoleon. The statesmen who governed Britain during that time had small conception of the fact that a revolution in the habits of mankind was taking place before their eyes. Still less did they at first realize that it was their duty to regulate the change, or to mitigate its evils. The result was much avoidable suffering for their own generation and terrible problems for their successors. The problems which we, at the present day, have inherited from that period are, broadly speaking, two—the slums and the relations between Capital and Labour.

Attitude of
Statesmen
to the
Industrial
Revolution

Two
Problems

The towns of the Industrial Revolution, it has been said, were 'barracks for cheap labour, not homes for citizens'. Their first radical defect was that they were planless, large cities were allowed to grow up haphazard and uncontrolled. Secondly, in the first and vital stage of the Industrial Revolution, there were no sanitation laws, consequently the jerry-builder (whose work is evil enough in these days when his activities are partially controlled) could work his will. Houses for the workers had to be built as quickly as possible. So built they were, sometimes back to back, sometimes without sanitation, lacking light, lacking air, often lacking decency, and always in long, dreary rows of brick and slate. The slum, it should be

The New
Industrial
Towns

Lack of
Plan and
Sanitation

noted, was no new thing, slums had existed since the Middle Ages. It was the vast scale of this jerry-building that was new and that defies description.

One result of housing vast new populations in this manner was that their descendants often grew up stunted, both in body and in mind. The larger the town, the worse the results, for big towns were impossible to escape from before the days of cheap transport. And so generations grew up divorced from Nature, a majority of the people of England had never seen England at all. For one of the loveliest countries in the world, they had been given a forest of factory chimneys, and an endless town of mean streets.

Lack of
Beauty

It is a curious and a saddening reflection that the making of this industrial England aroused very little protest. Macaulay is typical of his generation in praising the advance in Man's command over Nature; but he was blind to the fact that the chief sufferer in the process was his fellow man. 'Nowhere (he writes) are manufactures carried to such perfection (as in England). Nowhere does man exercise such a dominion over matter'. Again, Wilberforce, in the House of Commons (1806), described the industrial districts of Scotland and south Wales as places which 'Nature seemed to have doomed to perpetual sterility', but which were now 'covered by the fruits of human industry, and gladdened by the face of man'. It was left for William Blake (1757-1827), poet and seer, to speak of the 'dark Satanic mills' where industry was hived, and to call for the building of a worthier England—

I will not cease from mental fight
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.

5 *Laissez-faire*

The second great problem of the modern world—that of the relations between Capital and Labour—is also largely a legacy of the Industrial Revolution. To understand this, we must study the process by which British merchants captured the trade of the world, for it was these merchants who created the conditions of modern industry.



THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Industry encroaching on the country 'An Iron Work, for casting of Cannon, on the banks of the Severn in 1788.'

Growth of
British
Trade

The age of mechanical invention, and the age of steam power, both began at a moment remarkably well timed for the expansion of British trade. The fall of the old Mercantile Empire did not involve any loss of trade, even with America. The population of the United States (three millions in 1776) grew rapidly, and for another fifty years the Americans were an agricultural, not a manufacturing people. Trade with America grew apace; we imported American cotton, and exported to the States our manufactured goods. In 1782 America sent us 5,400 tons of raw cotton, by 1810 this figure had risen to 59,000 tons. It was the same with India, which came under our political control about the turn of the century, India was one of the best markets for Lancashire cotton goods. Britain captured the trade of the world, West as well as East. The goods with which she supplied far-off cities of India, the growing towns of America, the sugar-isles of the Caribbean Sea, and the nations of the Continent of Europe, were all made in Lancashire, Yorkshire, or the midland towns of England.

The
Markets
of the
World

The merchants who made their fortune by this world trade profited by the lucky fact—lucky for them—that the Industrial Revolution began in Britain. Not only were the new machines invented in Britain, but the country was rich in supplies of coal and iron—the essential materials of the new industries. So it came about that Britain was at least half a century ahead of the rest of Europe in applying machinery to manufactures. The lead which she thus acquired she did not lose for a century—she did not begin seriously to feel foreign competition till the eighteen-seventies. Further, the wealth of British merchants and the skill of British workmen, during the first phase of the Industrial Revolution, enabled the country to carry on the long war against France (1793–1815). The weapons which beat Napoleon were made in Birmingham.

Britain's
lead in
Industry

The men who made the 'business world' of modern industry claimed the right to manage their affairs in their own way. A phrase was coined by some French economists of the period to describe this attitude—*Laissez-faire*! 'Leave things alone'—'Let us alone'—was the cry of the business men. It meant that they were to be given a completely free hand, and that the State was to abandon its ancient right to regulate trade, the

Laissez-faire

State, in fact, was not to 'interfere in business'. Now, in the past business had always been, to some extent, regulated. The old Guild System of the Middle Ages had regulated trade down to the minutest detail, in Tudor and Stuart times there had been Acts of Parliament regulating the hours of labour and the rates of wages¹. Again, the Navigation Acts had regulated the ships in which various goods might be carried to and from Britain.

Opposition
to State
Inter-
ference

To sweep away all these regulations was the aim of the *Laissez-faire* school. It was accomplished during the first half of the nineteenth century. But long before that opinion had veered round to their side. The man who perhaps more than any one else was responsible for this was Adam Smith, who, like James Watt, came from Glasgow. His *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, heralded a new era in British commerce, just as the Declaration of Independence, in the same year, proclaimed the fall of the old Mercantile Empire. Adam Smith was the prophet of Free Trade. He held that all government interference is harmful to trade, let the merchants alone (*laissez-faire*), he argued, and they will make Britain a rich country. He made a convert of the new Prime Minister, William Pitt,² who reduced many trade restrictions, and prepared the way for the 'Free Trade' of the next century.

Adam
Smith
*The Wealth
of Nations*

Free Trade

Besides desiring free trade with foreign nations, the masters of the new industries were anxious to have complete freedom in dealing with their own work-people. To this end they wished to abolish all the laws which had, from olden times, regulated industry. They succeeded in doing this before the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The Elizabethan Act authorizing magistrates to fix wages was repealed in 1813, the next year the section of the Elizabethan Statute of Artificers which enforced apprenticeship was also repealed. Even before this the masters claimed, and exercised in practice, freedom from State control. The State, they argued, must let masters and men alone to fix up between them a 'free bargain'. Statesmen agreed to let them alone, but they forgot that

Abolition of
Regulation
of Industry

¹ Especially the great Elizabethan *Statutes of Labourers*. See Chapter XVII.

² For Pitt's commercial measures, see next chapter.

the bargain between the masters and men was anything but free. Masters can afford to wait, but men must sell their labour in the available market or starve.

The results of these conditions of employment were twofold. First, the men did not always get a fair deal, secondly, a spirit of antagonism was created. This sometimes led to bitterness between the artisans and the employers. But it must be remembered that there had been hardships enough before (as well as during) these industrial changes. Both masters and men were trained in a hard school, and many of the new captains of industry were themselves ex-employees risen from the ranks.

The sufferings of the work-people during the first phase of the Industrial Revolution were undoubtedly great. The workers had of necessity to live near the factories, in the new 'towns' built to house them.¹ They were also compelled to suffer the iron discipline² of the factory itself. In a later chapter³ we shall note some of the evils that were brought to light during the agitation for factory reform. It is sufficient to note here that men, women, and small children were made to work for 12, 14, or even 16 hours a day, tending dangerous machines, breathing foul air, ill paid, under-nourished, lacking the ordinary comforts of life, lacking sleep. 'Whilst the engine runs the people must work—men, women, and children are yoked together with iron and steam. The animal machine is chained fast to the iron machine, which knows no suffering and no weariness.' The iron-hearted men who decreed this state of affairs matched well their iron machines; and few of that generation realized that they were doing wrong.

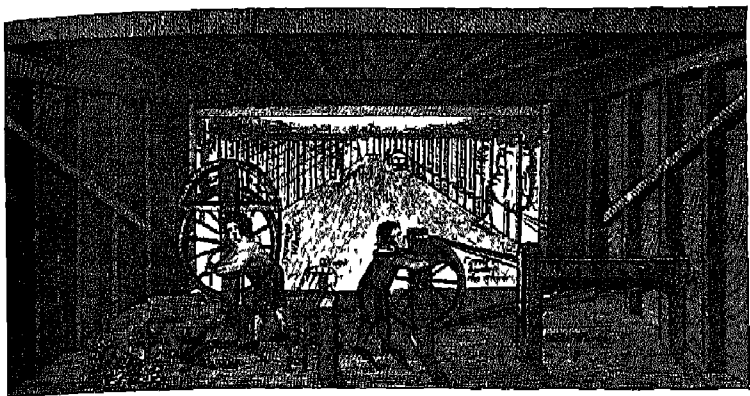
¹ 'Over the new towns—Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham—are hung the banners and scutcheons of the industrial lords, whose indentures and service bind a host more numerous and more dependent than were ever sworn to the bear and ragged staff of a Neville' (Grant Robertson, *England under the Hanoverians*).

² The following were some of the fines inflicted on the workmen at Tyldesley, near Manchester.

Any spinner found with his window open .	1s
" " " dirty at his work	1s
" " " washing himself .	1s
" " " heard whistling	1s

(From Hammond, *Town Labourer*)

³ Chapter XXXVII, Section 2



The coming of the Factory System *Above*, children at work in a rope factory in the eighteenth century *Below*, a cotton factory (mule-spinning) early in the nineteenth century

BRITAIN AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

I *Pitt's Peace Ministry*Charles
James Fox

At the time of the negotiating of the Treaty of Versailles (1783) England was governed by a Whig ministry under Lord Shelburne.¹ But from this ministry, the greatest of the Whigs, Charles James Fox, was excluded. Fox was one of the most remarkable men in the history of English politics. A fast liver and an inveterate gambler, he was notorious as one of the boon companions of George, Prince of Wales, afterwards the Prince Regent (and later still King George IV). The habits of this section of 'high society' certainly would not lead us to expect that one of its members would have any serious interests. Yet Fox had. It was one of the queer contradictions of his character that he enjoyed an all-night debate in the Commons as much as he enjoyed an all-night gambling orgy. He was no heartless rake—like his royal companion—with no feelings beyond the gratification of his own pleasures; he was a kindly man, and he had a real love of English liberty. Like most of the Whigs, he sympathized with the American Revolution, and later on he was foremost among prominent Englishmen in sympathizing with the French Revolution, though doing so cost him both loss of prestige and loss of friends. His conduct then proved that the man of fashion had convictions and principles which he valued above popularity or the friendship of princes.

The Fox-
North
Ministry

In 1783 Fox made a premature and unwise bid for power: he made a political alliance with Lord North, who for so many years had been the king's trusted servant. George was naturally angry at the 'desertion' of North, but for the moment he could do nothing. Fox and North together commanded a large majority in the House of Commons, and the king was obliged to appoint a new ministry, in which these unnatural allies were both made Secretaries of State. But the king had not long to wait for his revenge. Fox prepared an India Bill—an improve-

¹ See above, p. 635.

ment on the Regulating Act passed by North ten years before¹ —which passed the House of Commons But the Upper House, strongly influenced by the king, threw it out The king, with unseemly haste, at once sent a message to Fox and North that he had dispensed with their services So fell the Fox-North Coalition, after eight months of power

April-
December
1783

The king's choice now fell on young William Pitt,² aged 24, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer under Shelburne Pitt was appointed Prime Minister (December 1783), a position which he held for the next seventeen years The General Election of 1784 confirmed the king's choice, the supporters of North and of Fox lost seat after seat, and the young Premier commanded the confidence of King, Lords, and Commons. This election showed that, even before the great Reform Bill, the people of Britain could express their will when they felt deeply enough on a subject Called in to save the king from Fox and North, William Pitt proved to be something more than a stop-gap 'A kingdom trusted to a schoolboy's care', laughed his enemies; but the 'schoolboy' proved the master of them all He also proved to be the king's master George III came to rely entirely on Pitt, whose position was as supreme as Walpole's had been The decline of the king's mental powers also favoured the ascendancy of the Prime Minister Since Pitt's day that ascendancy has never been lost, the great powers enjoyed by the first minister of the Crown date from the premiership of William Pitt

William
Pitt,
Prime
Minister
1783-1801

Importance
of his
Premiership

Born in the year of victories, 1759, the second son of the Great Commoner, the younger Pitt had been trained from earliest youth to a political career His serious boyhood, his precocious learning, and his own and his father's ambition, all combined to deprive Pitt of the best thing in life—his youth For Pitt was never young, never knew a life free from care, and when at last, prematurely aged, he sank under the tremendous burden of the Napoleonic War, he had scarcely reached middle

Character
of William
Pitt

¹ See Chapter XXXIV

² Connect *Pitt the Elder* (1708-78), the Great Commoner, afterwards Lord Chatham, with the period of Clive and Wolfe and the American Revolution, and his son, *Pitt the Younger* (1759-1806), with the period of Napoleon and the French Revolution

age Though he could unbend in private, among a few intimate friends, his manner to colleagues and political foes alike was one of haughty reserve In the House of Commons, in an age of great debaters, Pitt was always impressive, though he was not his father's equal as an orator Like his father, he was absolutely indifferent to money He scorned titles and rewards for himself, though he lavished them—with feelings not unmingled with contempt—on others. His private life was singularly free from the vices of the time, with the exception of that of heavy drinking Pitt, like most men of that generation, drank far more than was good for his health, particularly of port, and this habit, combined with the toil of his work, helped to undermine his constitution

Pitt's first ministry lasted seventeen years, the first ten of which (1783-93) were years of peace His most successful measure, the India Act of 1784,¹ was passed in his first year of office, it settled the government of India till the Mutiny Next, the Premier made a half-hearted attempt at Parliamentary Reform, asking leave to introduce a Bill to disfranchise some of the rotten boroughs, the owners of which were to be compensated But a majority of the Commons (whom he had left free to vote as they liked) were hostile to the measure and he immediately dropped it (1785) In the same year Pitt also tried to bring about a commercial union between England and Ireland This was also opposed in Parliament, and again the Premier dropped the proposal Thus two serious questions, Parliamentary Reform and our relations with Ireland, each of which nearly caused a revolution later on, were treated on Walpole's principle—'Let sleeping dogs lie'.

It was in the realm of finance that Pitt was most happy He held the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer himself His Budget of 1784 reduced the high tariff on various articles (e.g. the tea duty was reduced from 50 to 12½ per cent), this had the excellent effect of making smuggling unprofitable. The loss to the revenue was made up by a variety of taxes—e.g. on windows,² hats, and hair-powder In 1786, Pitt estab-

¹ See Chapter XXXIV

² The window tax led many people to brick up superfluous windows, which may often be observed in old Georgian houses

lished the Sinking Fund, setting aside £1,000,000 a year—to accumulate at compound interest—to pay off the National Debt. He hoped by this means to pay off the Debt in twenty-eight years, little expecting that most of these years would be spent in piling up a further enormous debt for a great continental war.

Pitt also arranged a Commercial Treaty with France (1786). The duty on French wines was lowered, so that claret could compete in the English market with the products of Portugal, at the same time the French lowered the duty on English cotton, woollen, and steel goods. In answer to the ridiculous argument that it was wrong to make such a treaty with our 'hereditary foe', Pitt nobly declared that to say that one nation must always remain the enemy of another was weak and childish. Thus, with the co-operation of the French ministers, the first step was taken towards the realization of Adam Smith's ideal of Free Trade.¹

In the winter of 1788 political affairs were thrown into confusion by the illness of the king, who had a serious attack of insanity. Fox and the Whigs proposed that the royal powers should be exercised in full by the Prince of Wales, since they knew that the prince would at once dismiss Pitt and install them in power. This project was defeated by the Government's Regency Bill (1789), by which the prince was to rule as Regent, but with strictly limited powers. The king recovered before the Bill came into operation.

In foreign affairs, Pitt scored one success. The Spaniards in America had advanced up the Pacific coast from California, in 1789 they ejected some English settlers from Nootka Sound, in Vancouver. Pitt insisted that the English were the first comers, and that the island was an English possession. The Spaniards gave way, and so the future of what is now British Columbia was assured (1790).

Pitt was less successful in his relations with Russia. The Empress Catherine the Great was busy seizing territory along the Black Sea from Turkey. When Pitt protested (1791) against the seizure of Ochakov, Catherine took no notice, and it was obvious that British diplomacy was powerless in the

¹ See above, p. 677

east of Europe ¹ Shortly afterwards Catherine proceeded, with the aid of the King of Prussia, to despoil her defenceless neighbour, Poland, which soon ceased to exist as an independent country (Second and Third Partitions of Poland, 1793 and 1795) But by that time the outbreak of the Revolution in France had directed the attention of our statesmen elsewhere.

Partitions
of Poland

Achievements
of Pitt

To sum up Pitt's peace-time achievements, he was, first and foremost, a Premier of such outstanding personality that he overawed both King and Parliament. But for his advent to power our political history might have taken a very different turn. George III might have found another North, or government might have dissolved into hopeless party faction, as at the beginning of the reign Secondly, Pitt was an extremely able Chancellor of the Exchequer, and put our national finances on a sound footing. Thirdly, he was responsible for measures settling the government of India and of Canada, both of which have deservedly been praised ²

His limitations

His limitations were, however, considerable He was as blind as most of his class to the great revolution in industry which was taking place, and he never saw the crying need for social reform Other reforms, the need for which was at least as urgent, he passed over he failed to tackle the reform of Parliament, and, though he sympathized with the anti-slavery campaign, he had never sufficient political courage to strike at the evil of slavery. Pitt was not a man of vision When the French Revolution came, he failed to realize its great importance, and at first refused to believe that it could concern other countries But at length he was driven, against his will, into a titanic conflict with France, the end of which he did not live to see

Humanitarian
movements

One of the most significant changes in English life during the eighteenth century was the growth of the humanitarian movement This was due, in part, to the influence of religious societies like the Quakers and the Methodists The two most important agitations, begun by humane men from no motive

¹ Pitt also intervened in Holland, and arranged a Triple Alliance between Prussia, Britain, and Holland to counteract French influence But his policy did not prove a success

² See Chapter XXXIV

of self-seeking, were those conducted against the ill treatment of prisoners, and against slavery

The apostle of prison reforms was John Howard, who spent the greater part of his life in examining the state of prisons in England and in Europe. In England he found that an iniquitous system prevailed, by which gaolers, who were paid no salary, were allowed to charge the prisoners for board and rent.

John
Howard
(1726-90)

Since many prisoners could not afford to pay this debt to the gaoler, they remained in prison after their sentence had expired until it was discharged, many poor wretches had been there for years. Another evil was the filthy and insanitary state of the prisons. The vileness of the prison air was such that Howard declared, after visiting the prison dungeons, that he was unable to travel in a closed carriage, as his clothes were impregnated with the stench. Prisoners were often kept in irons and otherwise ill treated, frequently they lost their reason. Such things had been going on for centuries, it is to the credit of the men of the late eighteenth century that the public conscience was at last aroused. John Howard published his *State of the Prisons* during the American War, he was thanked by Parliament for the revelations which he had made, and some of the worst evils were dealt with by legislation (1784). Howard also made several journeys on the Continent, and visited the prisons of the chief European countries. Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845), a Quaker, was a later prison reformer, and she did much to improve the conditions among women prisoners.

State of the
Prisons

Elizabeth
Fry
(1780-1845)

Perhaps the noblest achievement of the eighteenth century was the movement for the abolition of the Slave Trade. Africa had formed a slave-market for Europe since Roman times. After the Romans, the Arabs continued to raid Africa for slaves, and when the first Christian traders—the Portuguese—appeared off the West African coast in the fifteenth century, they also followed the same cruel custom. In the next century the Spaniards and Portuguese began the Atlantic slave trade, and their example was followed by the English, led by John Hawkins. This slave trade, between Africa and the West Indies or the Southern States of America, had been in progress above two hundred years when Pitt came to power, and Britain had the greatest share of it. It was in 1787 that

The Slave
Trade

The Anti-Slavery Campaign (1788-1833) twelve men—of whom nine were Quakers—met together to form a Committee for the Suppression of the Slave Trade. The two most prominent members of this committee were Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce. Wilberforce, who was a well-known member of Parliament and a friend of Pitt, tried, for many years unsuccessfully, to persuade Parliament to abolish the Slave Trade. But it was the efforts of Clarkson and others in arousing the public conscience to the diabolical nature of the trade that ensured the eventual success of the movement. One of the worst cruelties of the whole business, apart from the actual capture of the slaves, was the way in which the negroes were crowded together in the slave-ships, which plied their dreadful trade across the Atlantic. The horrors of the 'middle passage', as it was called, cannot be described. suffice it to say that the 'Black Hole' of Calcutta was worse only in degree than the holds of the British slave-ships. It was usual for 45 per cent. of the slaves to die on the voyage to America, it was not uncommon for as many as 80 per cent. to perish.

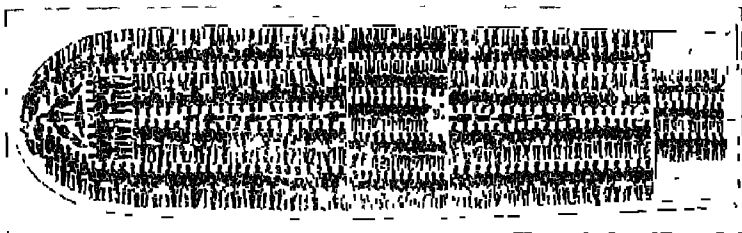
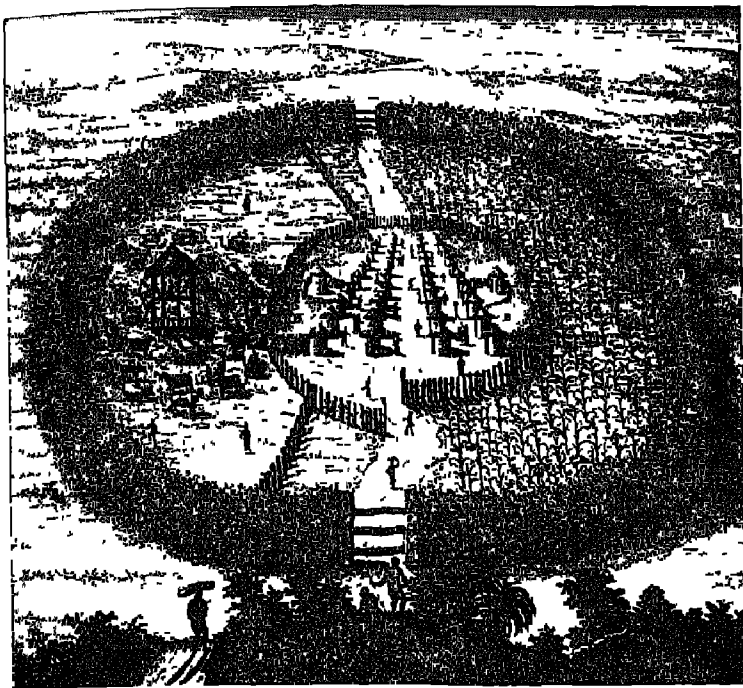
The
'Middle
Passage'

The Slave Trade was first discussed in Parliament in 1788, and in the same year a Bill was passed to check the cruelties of the 'middle passage'. But Wilberforce had to wait another nineteen years before Parliament abolished the Slave Trade, and it was a generation after that (1833) before the slaves in the British Empire were set at liberty.¹

2 *The French Revolution*

The eighteenth century has sometimes been called the Age of the Enlightened Despot. There were certainly plenty of despots in Europe, and some of them, like the Emperor Joseph II, were enlightened men. No continental country had anything to compare with the parliamentary rule under a constitutional king, which had flourished in Great Britain since 1689. The Tsars of Russia, the Hapsburg rulers of Austria, and the Kings of Prussia were all monarchs whose rule was absolute in their own dominions, and the example of these great sovereigns was imitated by the princelings of every petty German and Italian court. France, above all, was the home of European Despotisms. The French Monarchy

¹ See below, Chap. XXXIX.



THE SLAVE TRADE

Above, an African village enclosed for defence against wild beasts and slave-raiders *Below*, a plan of the lower deck of a slave-ship, showing how 292 slaves (men, women, and children) were carried in a space 100 ft long by 25 ft wide.

raised by Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIV in the seventeenth century, was the most imposing in Europe. In France, all political rivals to the power of the monarch had been ruthlessly swept away, the States-General (which had in the Middle Ages corresponded roughly with the English Parliament) had not met since 1614.

The French Nobility There were great social inequalities in France. The nobles had indeed lost all political power, but they had retained, from medieval times, the social privileges attaching to their rank. They were exempt from the payment of the heavier taxes which pressed so hardly on their inferiors, and they were lords of their own villages, where the peasant was forced, as in the Middle Ages, to contribute to the upkeep of the château. The French nobility were an idle class, debarred by custom from marrying with the lower orders, and so there was a great gulf fixed between them and the rest of the population. The lot of the peasants was extremely hard. The government took 50 per cent of their earnings in taxation, the lord of the château another 30 per cent.

The Peasants and the Bourgeoisie It was not, however, the miseries of the peasants which directly produced the French Revolution, nor, indeed, were the hardships they endured as bad as those endured by other European workers. The ferment of ideas, which produced the Revolution, arose in the middle class, the bourgeoisie, which included tradesmen, lawyers, doctors, and all the thinking and reading section of the community. The influence of the great French writers of the period on this class was profound. **Voltaire (1694-1778)** Voltaire, who spent the latter part of his life in exile in Switzerland, attacked injustice wherever he saw it. He had himself suffered under the monstrous system of *lettres de cachet*, whereby the French government was enabled to imprison any man for an indefinite period without trial, and without cause shown. Voltaire cried out against the barbarous laws, relics of the Middle Ages, by which, in France, men were sent to a cruel death, or to lifelong imprisonment, for small offences. In particular, Voltaire attacked the Catholic Church for persecuting men in the name of religion. His writings helped to awaken a public conscience in France.

Rousseau Another writer whose work had a profound effect was Jean

Jacques Rousseau In his famous book, *The Social Contract*, Rousseau developed the idea that kings and rulers governed states owing to a contract with their subjects. If the rulers did not fulfil this contract, then it was the right and duty of the people to oppose them¹ They would then return to a 'state of nature', where everything was good and beautiful, and would be able to set up a democracy which—in small states at least—he declares to be the best form of government Historically this argument is unsound, since both the 'contract' and the beauty of a 'state of nature' are imaginary But Rousseau's reasoning fired many thinkers in France, it helped to turn men's minds towards revolution When the opportunity came, many followers of Rousseau were ready to hack the old system to pieces and set up a new society in its place

It was financial difficulties which brought the old French monarchy to its ruin. The effort of the Maritime War (1778–83)² had indeed fulfilled its object in defeating Britain, but the expense of the war crippled the French Government Louis XVI (1774–92), a well-meaning young man, gave his confidence to several finance ministers in turn, but they were all unable to make the French state solvent The peasants were already taxed to the limit of endurance, to impose a drastic tax on the property of the nobles might have solved the difficulty but no one contemplated taking such a step Finally, in May 1789, Louis summoned the States-General, which had not met for 175 years

Financial
troubles

The States-General, which met at Versailles, was divided into three 'estates' clergy, nobles, and the Tiers État It voted by estates, not by the number of individual votes and the Tiers État saw that they would always be outvoted by the other two After some quarrelling with the other estates, the Tiers État insisted on the formation of a National Assembly,³ and swore that it should not separate until it had drawn up a new

Meeting of
the States-
General
May 1789

¹ Rousseau's *Le Contrat Social* (1760) opened with the bold statement 'Man is born free, yet he is everywhere in chains' The *American Declaration of Independence* (1776) borrowed his theories of the rights of man, including the 'sacred rights of insurrection'

² See above, pp 631–5

³ The National Assembly contained nearly all the members of the Tiers État, and some members of the other two estates.

constitution for France Louis XVI consented to this arrangement, and so the National Assembly set to work But very soon King Louis, spurred on by his spirited queen, Marie Antoinette, tried to overawe the Assembly by a display of military force. The Paris mob then interfered for the first, but not for the last, time in the Revolution. There was a riot during which the old state prison, the Bastille, was burnt to the ground (July 1789) Later in this memorable year, the mob forcibly escorted the king, queen, and members of the royal family from Versailles to Paris, where they took up their abode in the Tuileries Palace

Fall of the
Bastille
July 1789

Work of the
Constituent
Assembly

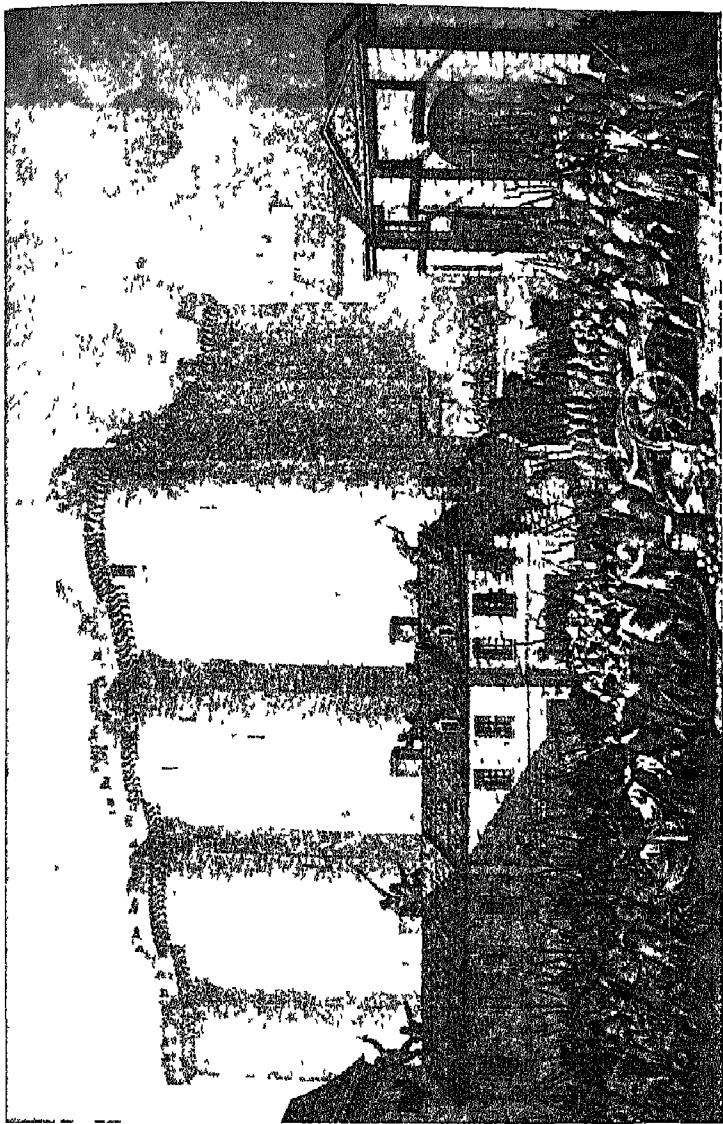
The work of the Constituent Assembly, as the National Assembly was now called,¹ went on uninterruptedly after the summer of 1789 The constitution-makers derived their ideas partly from the example of England, partly from the successful revolution which had just taken place in America, and partly from general theories, such as those of Rousseau Modelling their conduct on that of the Americans, the French drew up a declaration, called the Declaration of the Rights of Man (August 1789) Some of the clauses of this famous document laid down that men are born free and equal in rights, that sovereignty resides in the people, that law is the expression of the general will, and that no man should be molested for his opinions, provided his conduct does not injure the community A few days after the issue of this Declaration, an enthusiastic Assembly declared that the remains of feudalism, such as feudal dues paid to the nobles, should be abolished throughout France, and many nobles voluntarily gave up their privileges

Declaration
of the
Rights of
Man, 1789

The new constitution was far from perfect, but it was an improvement on the former government of Louis XVI The absolute monarchy was replaced by a limited monarchy, the king could delay the action of the laws in certain cases, but he could not override them There was to be one Assembly elected by the people, who were also to elect their own officials, including the civil servants, judges, and even the bishops and clergy Louis XVI tried to escape from a humiliating position—as he considered it—by flight from the country He was

The French
Constitu-
tion of 1790

¹ 'Constituent', because its work was to draw up a new constitution



THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE BY THE REVOLUTIONARY MOB IN JULY 1789

detected near the frontier at Varennes, and brought back to Paris a prisoner (June 1791)

Legislative Assembly 1791-2 The Meeting of the Legislative Assembly—as the Assembly elected under the new constitution was called—took place in September 1791. At first it seemed that the constitution would work, and that the Revolution was over. But it was not so. The king was horrified at the laws which reduced the priests

The Clergy throughout France to the level of servants of the state, no good Catholic could agree with such an arrangement. In the country districts a revolt, religious in character, began, with this the king was in full sympathy. Another cause of friction was the action of certain of the nobility, who had fled across the frontier to Germany, and who were intriguing with the **The Emigrés** German princes against the new French Government. The Assembly now decided to confiscate the property of these emigrés, as they were called. The king disapproved, his own brothers were among the emigrés. But he soon resolved that he must himself rely on foreign help, if the ancient monarchy of France was ever to be restored.

Meanwhile, the emigrés were doing their best to persuade the German governments to act against France. In August 1791, Austria and Prussia issued a Declaration, from Pillnitz, warning the revolutionaries to do no harm to the king. But, when Louis XVI agreed to the new constitution, they declared themselves satisfied. It is untrue to say that France was attacked by the military monarchies of Europe, France **War with Austria and Prussia 1792** went to war in order to consolidate the Revolution. The Girondists—the party in power—declared war on 20 April 1792, and Austria and Prussia launched a half-hearted attack.

The advance of the German armies under the Duke of Brunswick, and the suspicion that the king was intriguing with the enemy, produced a violent revolution in Paris, which involved the fall of the monarchy. The Revolution of 10 August **Revolution of 10 Aug. 1792** (1792) was engineered by the extremist party, known as the Jacobins. The Tuileries was stormed and taken, and the king's Swiss guards massacred. Louis XVI surrendered, and the monarchy was formally abolished. A month later a new assembly, called the Convention (1792-5) was elected. At the same time, Republican armies were raised all over France to

defend the country and the Revolution. It was then that the September Massacres, which horrified Europe, took place in Paris. Thousands of royalists, priests, and nobles were dragged out of prison and done to death in the streets. The massacre was caused by a fear that the prisoners might escape, and that it was not safe to leave them behind while the army marched away to defend the frontier. September Massacres

A tremendous enthusiasm inspired the French soldiers as they marched, singing the new revolutionary song, the *Marseillaise*, to defend the Republic. The republican watchwords were 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity', and for these ideals the soldiers of the Revolution were ready to die. The history of the world was changed by the battle of Valmy (September 1792) when Brunswick's army retreated before the ragged and ill-disciplined but enthusiastic soldiers of the Republic.¹ Henceforth nothing could stop the French, they defeated the well-drilled soldiers of the benevolent despots time and time again, against all military calculation. Valmy 1792

In Paris, enthusiasm for the Revolution increased after Valmy, the Convention passed a resolution saying that France would help all nations struggling to be free. The king was brought to trial and executed as a traitor to his country (January 1793). 'We fling down, as a gage of battle,' said Danton, 'the head of a king.' The Jacobins knew now that they must win or die. Soon the more moderate men were excluded from power, a Reign of Terror began, under the auspices of the cruel but efficient Committee of Public Safety. Execution of Louis XVI 1793

To understand the events of the Reign of Terror, we must first appreciate the fact that France was now fighting for her life against a Europe fearful of revolution and bent on her destruction. The alliance of Britain (1793), Austria, Prussia, and Spain was a formidable one, the French were attacked on all their frontiers. It was in these circumstances that the Committee of Public Safety ruled with a ruthlessness seldom paralleled in the history of the world. Royalist prisoners were The Reign of Terror 1793-4

¹ The battle itself was a very small affair. It is important because of its results. Dumouriez, the French commander, opened negotiations with Brunswick after the battle, with the result that the threat to Paris was removed.

first put to death, then, as the inner circle of the revolutionary leaders narrowed, all those who disagreed with the extremists were guillotined. The Catholic-Royalist rebellions in Brittany, La Vendée, and Lyons were crushed with fearful barbarities; the waters of the Rhone and the Loire ran red with the blood of the enemies of the Republic. Within two years—by 1795—these methods had succeeded, opposition to the Revolution in France itself was stamped out. And, by that time, the Jacobin armies were marching in triumph over their neighbours' territories.¹

As the danger was removed, the Terror died away, and among the things drowned in its blood was the idealism of the early revolutionaries. Those who survived in positions of power were self-seeking intriguers. The Committee of Public Safety was abolished, and the Convention gave way to a new Government called the Directory (five Directors and two Assemblies) which ruled France for five years (1795-9). It was during these years that the military genius of Napoleon Bonaparte was first shown to the world.

3 *Burke, Fox, and Pitt*

In England the first news of the French Revolution was received by all classes with feelings of delight. When Fox heard of the fall of the Bastille, he said 'How much the greatest event it is in the history of the world, and how much the best!' The ancient despotism of the Bourbons, so long Britain's most dangerous enemy, was at last brought low. A parliamentary experiment was to be tried in France, and the labours of the National Assembly were followed sympathetically.

The publication of Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* (1790) struck a different note. Burke warned his readers that power in France would certainly pass into more and more violent hands as the Revolution proceeded, and that the probable outcome would be a military despotism. The correctness of these prophecies—which were fulfilled in the Reign of Terror and the advent of Napoleon—was certainly remarkable. But, in spite of this, Burke entirely failed to appreciate the true significance of the French Revolution. He foresaw, more

¹ See next Chapter.

clearly than most men, its immediate consequences, he was blind to its effects on the history of the world. For the French Revolution had sounded the trumpet-call of Liberty, wherever that call was heard, it meant the end of the autocratic *ancien régime* of priest and king. In France itself the Jacobins made mistakes, and committed crimes, but at least the old days of the starving peasant and the rich seigneur were gone, never to return.

Burke's book, which had a profound effect in England, showed the reaction of the governing classes to the growing anarchy in France. To him, and to them, the English constitution, set up by the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, was the last word in perfection, beyond that he could not see. England had been ruled for a hundred years by her aristocracy, that the aristocracy should ever share its power with the common people was, in 1789, a strange and revolting idea. It was the fear that the example of the Jacobins might be followed in England that attracted the governing classes to Burke's view. The Revolution was dangerous, said Burke, because it included attacks on property, the upholders of the rights of property must rally in their own defence. These views naturally gained ground after the September Massacres (1792) and the execution of Louis XVI (1793) had shown the correctness of Burke's opinion of the course of the Revolution.

A reply to Burke was forthcoming when Tom Paine issued his *Rights of Man* (1791). Paine, an English Quaker's son who had lived in America, was a strong supporter of the American and French Revolutions. His pamphlet—which sold in tens of thousands—insisted that the people had the right to alter any existing government at their pleasure. These democratic views found many supporters in England, it was only when (in 1792) Paine published the second part of his book that he became unpopular. For then he praised the republican form of government, and people were so alarmed by events in France that they rallied to the established order and the 'good old king'.

The opinions expressed in Burke's *Reflections* on the one hand, and in Paine's *Rights of Man* on the other, reflected the two extremes of English thought. The bulk of the nation, disgusted by the excesses in France, took Burke's view. In

Paine's
*Rights of
Man*
1791-2

The Whig
Split, 1792

politics, a large majority of the Whig party, led by the Duke of Portland and by Burke, went over to Pitt, and helped to swell the ranks of the Tories. Fox quarrelled with Burke and, together with his young friend Charles Grey, formed a new Whig party of his own (1792). Charles Grey, a young man of noble family, destined to give England Parliamentary Reform forty years later, was the founder of a society called the 'Friends of the People', the object of which was to encourage democratic ideas in England. The action of Fox and Grey in breaking away from Burke, and holding a point of view diametrically opposed to that of most of their own class, was extremely important. It kept alive a liberal-minded spirit at a time when all ideas of liberty were in danger of being swept away in the tide of war.

War was declared in 1793.¹ War meant that the mildest suggestion of reform was labelled 'Jacobin'—something favouring the enemies of England. War meant that Pitt put aside whatever ideas of liberty he had ever held. Something very like a panic seized the rulers of England. During 1793 and 1794, various men were tried for holding democratic opinions which we should now consider very ordinary, people were imprisoned merely for advocating 'representative government'. Two men, Muir and Palmer, were sentenced by the Scottish judge, Braxfield, to transportation to Botany Bay for holding such opinions. Then, in 1794, came the trial of Thomas Hardy, who had founded a working-men's club, called the Corresponding Society. Hardy was accused of treason, and tried for his life. As there was no evidence to convict him, he was acquitted, after this the panic somewhat subsided.² But in the same year (1794) the Government suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, which meant that any suspected 'Jacobins' could be seized and kept in prison without trial. Thus one of the fundamental bases of English liberty was attacked under the stress of the panic caused by the French Revolution.

These were dark days indeed for England, and for English liberty. The war, like most other wars, was turning out to be

¹ See next Chapter

² Grey said that, if Hardy had been convicted, his own life would not have been safe.

Charles
Grey

War (1793)
and
Reaction

Trial of
Hardy
1794

Habeas
Corpus Act
suspended
1794

a longer and harder struggle than was at first anticipated. There was a series of bad harvests, poverty and destitution gripped the land. Meanwhile 'wage-slaves' in factories and negro slaves in cotton plantations made the wheels of industry revolve. Humane men suggested reforms, but Pitt had now no ears for reformers. His Government was concerned only with the danger from Jacobins—real Jacobins in France, possible Jacobins in England.

One remedy—and that a bad one—was tried to relieve the labouring population. The Berkshire magistrates met (1795) at the Pelican Inn, Speenhamland,¹ near Newbury, to discuss the wages of labourers. They saw that something must be done to relieve poverty and suffering, and they decided to make up wages out of the parish rates. They drew up a scale by which the parishes had to make up a man's wage to 3s a week for himself, and 1s 6d each for the members of his family. At this time the loaf cost 1s, if the price of bread rose, the scale was to rise with it. This system had three bad results. First, it encouraged masters to pay lower wages, since they knew that the rate-payers would have to make up the deficiency, secondly, it thrust an unfair burden on the rate-payers,² thirdly, it pauperized the working population by giving them a 'dole' instead of a fair wage. Nevertheless, the Speenhamland system was adopted in all the other counties, and it remained in force for another forty years.

A few years after this, the Government, still fearing for the preservation of law and order, struck a blow at the factory workers. By the Combination Acts (1799 and 1800), it was made a punishable offence for workmen to combine with each other for the purpose of demanding an increase in wages. Trades Unions, which were already in existence, were thus made illegal. Two ideas inspired this legislation. First, workmen's unions were regarded as a political danger, for the Government was still nervous of Jacobins. Secondly, as we

¹ The system became general after 1795, and Speenhamland gave its name to it. But rates in aid of wages had been given intermittently for years before.

² The Poor Rate for the whole country was under 2 millions in 1783, in 1813 it was 6½ millions.

Distress of
the Country

The
Speenham-
land
decision
1795

Its defects

The
Combina-
tion Acts
1799 and
1800

have seen above,¹ Parliament considered that the masters of industry must be given a free hand, and therefore that their workmen ought not to combine against them. The Combination Act remained in force for a quarter of a century.

Deprived of their land by the Enclosure system, pauperized by Speenhamland, and victimized by the factory-owners, the poor of England were hard hit during the time of George III. At the same time, the liberty of the subject sadly declined, the trials for sedition, the suspension of Habeas Corpus, and the passing of the Combination Acts meant that all hope of reform was indefinitely postponed. The excuse for all this was the grave danger of the country in the midst of the French Revolutionary War (see next chapter).

4 *The Romantic Revival*

The period of the French Revolution and the wars which followed it coincides with what is called the 'Romantic Revival' in English literature, a period only second in importance to the Age of Shakespeare. It derives its character from the fact that English poetry then recovered its naturalness and its delight in simple everyday things. The poets of the age were in revolt against the formality of the eighteenth century, the Romantic Revival was a return to Nature.

A return
to Nature

This revived interest in Nature was intimately connected with the stirring political events of the time. Wordsworth, the prophet of the age, spent his young manhood in the stormy times of the French Revolution, Keats, Shelley, and Byron all grew up in the shadow of the great French war.

The Romantic Revival in England occurred just after the death of the greatest poet whom the sister country, Scotland, had produced. Robert Burns, who died in 1796,² was the son of a peasant. But, like many Scottish peasants' sons, he was brought up with a knowledge of literature, especially of the old ballad poetry of the north. The author of 'Auld Lang Syne'

Robert
Burns

¹ See Section 5, Chapter XXX. The Government forbade Combinations among the masters as well as among the workmen, but the employers were so few in number, comparatively, that the Act made no difference, and they continued to make arrangements among themselves.

² He was the same age as Pitt, but he died even younger, at thirty-seven.

and of a dozen other songs equally well known (e.g. 'The Banks o' Doon' and 'Ae Fond Kiss') is rightly acclaimed as the national poet of Scotland. The note of pathos is often found in Burns's love songs ('When I think on the happy days I spent wi' you, my dearie'), and his generous, large-hearted nature could feel even the troubles of the 'beasties' and birds, as well as of men

Ilk happing¹ bird, wee helpless thing!
That, in the merry months of spring,
Delighted me to hear thee sing,
What comes o' thee?
Whare wilt thou cour thy chittering wing
An' close thy e'e?

Two years after the death of Burns, *Lyrical Ballads* was published. It was the work of two great English poets, William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

Wordsworth was born² at Cockermouth, Cumberland, and went to school at Hawkshead Grammar School, where they still show you the tiny schoolroom in which the poet learnt his lessons. From school, Wordsworth passed to St. John's College, Cambridge, and during one vacation he paid his first visit to France, then in the throes of revolution. In 1795 he met Coleridge, and the two afterwards settled down in neighbouring Somerset villages to produce, jointly, a book of poems called *Lyrical Ballads* (1798).

William
Words-
worth
(1770-1850)

Coleridge
(1772-1834)

According to the Preface of this book, the poets' object was 'to choose incidents and situations from common life, and to relate and describe them in a selection of language really used by men'. This was the object which Wordsworth pursued throughout his life, simplicity, both of subject-matter and language, was the key-note of his writing. It is the setting forth of these views which makes the publication of the *Lyrical Ballads* an important landmark in English literature. Apart from the authors' views, the book would have been important if

*Lyrical
Ballads*
1798

¹ 'Each hopping'

² Wordsworth, like Beethoven, was born in the year 1770. J. M. W. Turner, one of the greatest exponents of Nature in colour, was born five years after Wordsworth. See the fine collection of Turners in the Tate Gallery, London.

only for its inclusion of Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, one of the half-dozen greatest poems in the English language. The sense of horror which the author conveys in some passages—

*The Ancient
Mariner*

The many men, so beautiful
And they all dead did lie,
And a thousand thousand slimy things
Lived on, and so did I.

—is only equalled in intensity by the beauty which he portrays in others:

A noise like of a hidden brook,
In the leafy month of June,
That to the sleeping woods all night
Singeth a quiet tune

To return to Wordsworth, it is worth while to examine the two most potent influences on his life, because they were typical of the new age that was dawning. First he was deeply influenced by the French Revolution, which he witnessed during his first visit to France. He has described this influence in his *The Prelude* (written 1799-1805)

*Words-
worth's
Prelude*

O pleasant exercise of hope and joy!
For mighty were the auxiliars which then stood
Upon our side, us who were strong in love!
Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very Heaven!

*Influence of
the French
Revolution*

No one will ever understand the French Revolution who does not appreciate the fact that it was welcomed by youthful, ardent spirits such as Wordsworth's. He lived indeed to see his first hopes for the freedom of mankind crushed, he witnessed the tyranny of Napoleon, and the overthrow of liberty in the land of its new birth.¹

*Influence of
Nature*

The second influence on Wordsworth's character came from his boyhood, it was that of Nature, as he knew and loved her in the hills and dales of the Lake District. In 1808, when he was thirty-eight, Wordsworth retired to the Lakes, and lived there for the remaining forty-two years of his life. Henceforth he abjured the 'busy haunts of men', and found in Nature all the happiness that life could give.

¹ See next Chapter

To appreciate the services of Wordsworth and the 'Lake School', not only to English literature but to English life, it is necessary to understand the entirely different feelings with which the beauties of Nature were regarded by our ancestors. John Evelyn, the diarist, when he saw the lovely forest of Fontainebleau (in 1644), thus described it 'By the way we passed through a forest so prodigiously encompassed with hideous rocks . . . that I think the like is nowhere to be found more horrid and solitary'. Again, Defoe (in 1725) describes Westmorland, which Wordsworth so loved, as 'a county eminent only for being the wildest, most barren and frightful of any that I have passed over in England or in Wales'.

That these opinions are no longer held by English people is due largely to the influence of Wordsworth and his contemporaries. His own joy in natural beauty is shown in nearly every poem that he wrote, and especially in the *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*, and in *Tintern Abbey*

How oft, in spirit, have I turn'd to thee,
O sylvan Wye, thou wanderer thro' the woods!
How often has my spirit turn'd to thee!

A very different character from the quiet poet of the Lakes was Lord Byron. Byron, the spoiled child of Fortune, attained European fame as a poet before he was thirty. In spite of his faults—and they were many—Byron never lost the early enthusiasm for liberty which he derived from the French Revolution, and he died at last in a foreign land, fighting against the Turks for the freedom of the Greece he loved so well. An equally ardent spirit was Percy Bysshe Shelley, who was sent down from Oxford for writing a pamphlet called *The Necessity of Atheism*. Shelley spent a brief, unhappy life in fighting forces too strong for him. His hatred of all forms of tyranny is shown in his political poems (1818-21), but his lasting title to fame rests on *Prometheus Unbound*, *Adonais*, and on his many beautiful lyrics, such as the *Ode to the West Wind*, and the lyric beginning,

I dream'd that as I wandered by the way
Bare Winter suddenly was changed to Spring ¹

¹ *Golden Treasury*, No. 268

Shelley was drowned off Leghorn in 1822, when he was only thirty and at the height of his powers. John Keats, who also ^{Keats} died in Italy before he was twenty-five,¹ was a friend of Shelley and Byron. His chief works are *Endymion*, *Hyperion*, *The Eve of St Agnes*, and his wonderful odes—e.g. *Ode to a Nightingale*, *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, and *To Autumn*—which are among the loveliest things in the English language. In *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* we get a glimpse of almost uncanny beauty, which reminds us of some of the passages of the *Ancient Mariner*.

A contemporary of these short-lived poets was Sir Walter ^{Scott} Scott. His lays and ballads were the outcome of a life spent in deep reading of Scottish history, and of a mind saturated with the legends of the Border. His *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) achieved an immediate success, it was shortly followed by *Marmion* and the *Lady of the Lake*. In 1814, Scott wrote his first novel, *Waverley*, the first of the long series of the Waverley ^{Waverley} Novels, by the writing of which Scott strove, in his later years, to pay off the burden of a large debt. The best of the Waverley Novels are those which deal with Scottish history, like *The Heart of Midlothian* and *Old Mortality*.

¹ Shelley's *Adonais* (1821) is an elegy on the death of John Keats

THE GREAT FRENCH WAR (1793-1815)

I. *The First Coalition*

THE outbreak of the French Revolution, and its progress to the summer of 1792, did not inspire British statesmen with a wish to interfere with the course of events in France. As we have seen, the Germanic powers, as early as April 1792, went to war with the avowed purpose of restoring the French monarchy to its former position. Pitt did not share that aim. As late as February (1792) he made a speech, prophesying fifteen years of peace for Britain, and moved a reduction in our military and naval forces. Exactly twelve months later, Britain embarked on one of the longest wars in modern history.

Pitt and
Peace
February
1792

It was the events of the last five months of 1792 that caused Pitt to change his mind. In September came the massacres in Paris, which filled most Englishmen with horror and alarm. In November the French troops invaded the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) and rapidly overran that country. In the same month, the Convention issued a decree (19 November) saying that they would help all nations who wished to regain their liberty.¹ The French, moreover, declared the navigation of the River Scheldt open, any treaties to the contrary notwithstanding. As Britain had, for the benefit of Holland, signed treaties² which gave the control of the Scheldt to the Dutch, she could not approve of the French action. Besides, Antwerp in French hands might prove a serious rival to the Port of London. Pitt therefore gave the British answer to the French claims in memorable words: 'England will never consent that France shall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure, and under the pretence of a pretended natural right, of which

French
aggression
1792

The
Scheldt

¹ 'La Convention Nationale déclare au nom de la Nation Française qu'elle accordera fraternité et secours à tous les peuples qui voudront recouvrer leur liberté.'

² The last one was signed in 1788. The British were, in their own interest, anxious to prevent the development of Antwerp.

she makes herself the only judge, the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties and guaranteed by the consent of all the Powers '.

The execution of Louis XVI in January 1793 inflamed all England against France, and there was now no hope of preserving peace. War was declared by the Convention on Britain and Holland on 1 February 1793. George III wrote to Lord Grenville, the Foreign Secretary, saying that the declaration of war 'is highly agreeable to me'. He went on to say that England would, he hoped, 'curb the insolence of those despots (the French government) and be the means of restoring some degree of order to that unprincipled country, whose aim at present is to destroy the foundations of every civilized state'.

The war which thus broke out continued with two brief intervals for twenty-two years. Pitt's conception of waging it was twofold. First, he used British money to maintain a European coalition against France. He looked to his allies, to whom he paid subsidies in cash, to bear the brunt of the land attack on the common enemy, our own military effort was very small. Secondly, he intended to use British naval power¹ to destroy French commerce, to seize French colonies, and to deliver attacks on the French Atlantic and Mediterranean ports.

The First Coalition (1793-5) consisted of Britain, Austria, Prussia, Holland, Spain, and Sardinia. A small British army, under the Duke of York, was sent to assist the Austrians and Prussians in the Netherlands. The allied efforts, however, were of little avail, the French kept their hold on Belgium, and invaded Holland. The Dutch navy, held fast in the frozen Rhine, was captured by a detachment of French cavalry (1794). Holland became, like Belgium, an appanage of France,² the Dutch were forced to change sides and fight against their former allies.

Britain's efforts to aid the Royalists in France were no more

¹ It was during these French Wars that Charles Dibdin wrote his popular sea-songs (e.g. *Tom Bowling*), and Thomas Campbell his war-songs (e.g. *Ye Mariners of England*).

² Belgium was incorporated in France, Holland became the Batavian Republic.

successful than the Netherlands campaign. An expedition sent to Quiberon in Brittany arrived too late to help the Royalists there. Then Admiral Hood entered Toulon harbour (1793) at the invitation of the citizens, who were opposed to the Revolution. But a Republican army besieged the town, and the British fleet in the harbour was fired on by Lieutenant Bonaparte's guns, and forced to withdraw. Such was the first round of the fight between Britain and her arch-enemy. At sea, Lord Howe won a five-days' battle usually called the 'Glorious First of June' (1794), capturing six French battleships.

Admiral
Hood at
Toulon
1793

First of
June 1794

Between 1795 and 1797 England was deserted by all her allies. Holland, as we have seen, was forced into a French alliance. Then Prussia made peace (Treaty of Basle, 1795) in order to turn her attention to the subjugation of the unfortunate Poles. Poland had just been finally partitioned between the robber Powers (Prussia, Austria, and Russia) under the Second and Third Partitions (1793 and 1795).¹ Prussia kept out of the French war for another ten years. The Spaniards also made peace in 1795, and in the following year they decided to change sides and throw in their lot with France. This caused the British to withdraw their Mediterranean fleet to Gibraltar (January 1797).

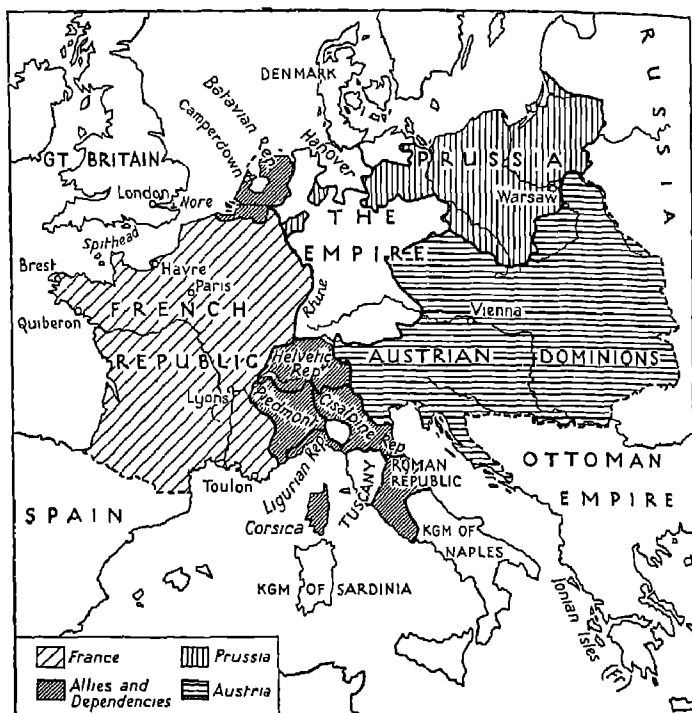
Prussia and
Spain

Events were thus going badly enough for Britain when a new star appeared on the horizon. Napoleon Bonaparte, a young Corsican soldier, had joined the Republican army shortly after the overthrow of the monarchy. He had taken a prominent part in the siege of Toulon, and later in the quelling of a mob attack in Paris. In 1796 he was put in command of the French 'Army of Italy'. It was in Italy that his astonishing military genius was first made known to the world. Bonaparte first fell on the Sardinians and forced them to make a separate peace (1796). Then, in a series of brilliant campaigns, he beat the Austrians and drove them out of Italy. Bonaparte relied

Bonaparte
in Italy
1796-7

¹ The Partitions of Poland, by which that unfortunate country was wiped off the map of Europe, are among the worst instances of barefaced wrongdoing in European history. Poland was weak and defenceless, she was torn asunder by three strong neighbours. It was these very neighbours who were protesting so loudly about the French conquest of Holland and Belgium.

chiefly on the power of sudden attacks, delivered by infantry in column formation, and on the use of light field-guns, which could be moved quickly into action. The Austrian generals



EUROPE IN 1798

Note 1 The incorporation of Belgium and Western Germany by France 2. The disappearance of Venice 3 The absorption of Poland by Austria, Russia, and Prussia

were no match for him, either in tactics or in the power of leading men to victory. By the beginning of 1797 the Austrians were in full flight across the frontier, Bonaparte chased them into their own country and forced them to sign an armistice.

In the year 1797 Britain was faced with a most serious situation. All her continental allies had either been defeated

or had withdrawn from the war, the French were masters of western Europe. The naval situation was scarcely less serious, for the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland were now ranged against Great Britain. Admiral Sir John Jervis, however, with Nelson as second-in-command, broke the Spanish line at the battle of Cape St. Vincent (February 1797) and scattered the enemy. But scarcely had one danger thus been removed, when our whole naval position in the North Sea was threatened by serious mutinies in the fleet. The grievances of the seamen were real enough: they were badly fed, seldom paid, and kept at their duty by a system of brutal punishments for which discipline is too mild a word. In addition, most of the sailors had been forced into the Navy by the press-gang. The first mutiny occurred at Spithead, the Government, recognizing that some concessions were necessary, eventually accepted most of the men's demands, and order was restored. A more serious situation, however, was created by the mutiny of the North Sea fleet, under Admiral Duncan, which was blockading the Dutch coast. The mutineers seized the ships and sailed back to the Thames Estuary, their head-quarters being at the Nore. Duncan, with two ships left, hoodwinked the enemy by sending signals to an imaginary fleet behind. After an anxious month, the men returned to their duties. Parker, the ringleader, and eighteen others were hanged. Duncan continued the blockade of the Dutch coast, and it was not till October that the enemy fleet emerged. An action took place off Camperdown—an overwhelming victory for the British, nine out of sixteen Dutch ships being captured. The sailors, who had so recently been mutineers, had nobly proved their patriotism, and were pardoned by the Government.

Position in
1797
Britain
alone

1797
Cape St.
Vincent

Mutinies in
the Fleet

Camper-
down

A week after Camperdown, Austria signed the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797) with the French Republic. By this treaty, Belgium and the Rhine frontier were given to France—such gains as she had not received under the greatest of her kings. At the same time the dependent republics which the French had set up in Holland, Switzerland, and North Italy were recognized by Austria. Britain stood alone (1797) against the victorious Republic, which, only four years before, was thought to be on the verge of destruction.

Treaty of
Campo
Formio
1797

In one respect, however, Britain had done well out of the war. Her naval superiority had enabled her to attack the oversea possessions not only of France but of the allies of France. The Dutch had suffered heavily in the loss of Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope (1795) and of Demerara in South America (1796). The Cape was then chiefly important on account of its position on the route to India, but it afterwards proved a valuable colony in itself. Spain lost Trinidad (1797) and what is now British Honduras, the French lost several islands, of which the most important was St Lucia. But a great deal of money and thousands of lives were consumed in a useless attempt to conquer the French colony of Haiti on Hispaniola, where a negro rebellion broke out. The rebellion was due, in the first instance, to the influence of the French Revolution on the slaves, it spread to several of the other islands, where, however, it was ultimately quelled. But Haiti remained, and remains, a negro republic.

2 *Britain and the Mediterranean*

At the beginning of 1798 the French troops marched into Rome, whence the Pope, Pius VI, fled, a Roman republic was set up. The French were now in command of all north Italy; Spain was their ally, they controlled the western Mediterranean. It merely remained for them to conquer Naples, and to attack the unwieldy Turkish Empire, and the Mediterranean would become a French lake. An attack on Egypt (nominally a Turkish province) was therefore decided on. Bonaparte, who was given the command, already dreamed of annexing the Turkish Empire, and of advancing, from Egypt, to the conquest of India. 'This little Europe', he declared, 'is too small for me'.

Britain wisely decided to challenge the French supremacy in the Mediterranean. But the French Egyptian Expedition, eluding Admiral Nelson, sailed from Toulon to the Nile. On the way the French demanded the surrender of Malta from the Knights of St. John, and left a garrison to occupy the island. Landing in Egypt, Bonaparte beat the Mamelukes¹ at the battle of the Pyramids. While he was celebrating this victory,

¹ The Mamelukes were a military caste (originally Circassian slaves) which dominated Egypt

news arrived that his fleet was gone Nelson had destroyed it at the battle of the Nile Sailing into Aboukir Bay (in one of the mouths of the Nile) where the French fleet lay at anchor, Nelson attacked with his terrible gun-fire at close quarters Thirteen ships were taken or sunk; only four escaped (August 1798)

Battle of
the Nile
August
1798

After this it was evident that Bonaparte would have to abandon the dream of a French Mediterranean, which must obviously depend upon sea-power But he still had his army, with which to invade other parts of the Turkish Empire He marched into Palestine, expecting to meet with little resistance, but was held up by the Turkish defence of Acre (1799) The Turks were assisted in their defence by part of the British fleet, under Sir Sidney Smith, one of Nelson's captains Foiled at Acre, Bonaparte had to return to Egypt By this time, news from Europe decided him to desert his army and return home Sailing secretly with a few companions, he eluded the British fleet, and landed safely in France (1799)

Siege of
Acre, 1799

A Second Coalition was now in being, consisting of Britain, Austria, Russia, and Turkey An Austro-Russian army under Suvoroff, invaded northern Italy and swept out the French. Then it forced its way through the Alpine passes into Switzerland, and was successful until September, when Masséna defeated Suvoroff at Zurich In Naples, earlier in the year, the French had set up a republican government, and there was now further fighting between the revolutionaries and the adherents of the King of Naples Finally, the republicans of Naples surrendered to Cardinal Ruffo, on the promise that their lives should be spared Just as this treaty was signed, Admiral Nelson appeared in the Bay of Naples, with the exiled Neapolitan king on board The king—Ferdinand IV—repudiated the treaty, and, with Nelson's help, proceeded to crush the rebels in a series of cruel executions and imprisonments The government of Ferdinand IV was, in all probability, the worst in Europe. It is sad to reflect that it was Nelson who helped to consign hundreds of brave men to the living death of a Neapolitan prison¹

Second
Coalition
1799

Naples

Nelson at
Naples

¹ 'The part borne by Nelson in this work of death has left a stain on his glory which time cannot efface The name which to ourselves

Meanwhile Bonaparte was received with tremendous enthusiasm in France. He decided that the moment had arrived to assume complete control. He therefore overthrew the government—the Directory—by force (*Coup d'état*, November 1799) and set up a new government of three consuls, with himself as First Consul. From the moment when he became First Consul, Bonaparte was the absolute ruler of France, a position which he held for fifteen years. Soon he raised a new army, full of enthusiasm, and ready to follow him to victory. He did not disappoint his soldiers, at the battle of Marengo (near Genoa) the Austrians were again defeated. Shortly after this, Russia and Austria made peace, Britain once more stood alone (1800 as in 1797).

Coup d'état
of 1799

Marengo
1800

The British, however, scored two important successes. They took Malta (1800), which has ever since been a British possession, and they sent an army to Egypt (1801) under Sir Ralph Abercrombie which procured the surrender of the French army which Bonaparte had left behind. The position, in 1800, was thus fairly even: Britain was completely victorious at sea, and she had taken most of the Dutch and a great many of the French and Spanish islands in all parts of the world. In the Mediterranean, the French had been completely foiled; they had been checked at Naples, at Malta, at Acre, and in Egypt.¹ On the other hand the Second Coalition was no more, and the French were once more masters of North Italy, nor could any limits be set to their further probable advance on land.

British take
Malta, 1800

France and
Britain in
1800

Interest now shifted from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. The Tsar of Russia, Paul I, revived the Armed Neutrality of the North which had been formed during the War of American Independence (1780) to contest the British claim to search neutral shipping. Russia, Sweden, and Denmark were thus ranged in hostility to Britain. The British Government dispatched Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as second-in-command, to the Baltic to attack the Danes. Nelson

Armed
Neutrality
of the
North, 1801

represents everything that is most gallant, most faithful, most tender, recalls on the Mediterranean coast the abettor of a perfidious cruelty' (Fyffe, *Modern Europe*, 11)

¹ 'Had I been master of the sea', once remarked Napoleon, 'I should have been lord also of the Orient'

First Battle
of Copen-
hagen, 1801

engaged the Danish fleet, and disregarded Parker's signal to withdraw "Do you know what's shown on board the Commander-in-Chief?" asked Nelson . "Why, to leave off action!" "Leave off action!" he repeated, and then added, with a shrug, "Now damn me if I do!" He then observed to Captain Foley, "You know, Foley, I have only one eye—I have a right to be blind sometimes " And then, with an archness peculiar to his character, putting the glass to his blind eye, he exclaimed "I really do not see the signal!"¹ The bombardment lasted four hours, after which the Danes surrendered. Meanwhile a court tragedy changed the policy of Russia, the leader of the Armed Neutrality The mad Tsar, Paul I, was murdered (1801), his son and successor, Alexander I, at once came to terms with Britain, and the Armed Neutrality collapsed

Pitt
resigns
1801

Shortly after these events, Pitt resigned the premiership for reasons unconnected with the conduct of the war George III had forced him to break his promise to the Irish Catholics,² and Pitt did not consider it honourable to remain in office On his resignation (1801) Addington, formerly Speaker, was made Prime Minister, Pitt remained out of office for three years

Addington
Govern-
ment
1801-4

Addington's Government decided to make peace with France The negotiations lasted some months, but, after much haggling, peace was made at Amiens (1802), Britain agreeing to restore some of her colonial conquests. But there could be no lasting peace as long as Bonaparte was at the head of affairs in France. His restless mind was already turning to ambitious schemes in Germany and beyond.

Peace of
Amiens
1802

3 *Land-power versus Sea-power*

The peace signed at Amiens lasted only a year, for it soon became obvious that Bonaparte was preparing for further conquests Britain, suspicious of his intentions, refused to give up Malta, by March 1803 war was again declared As she prepared for a second and even more terrible struggle, Britain was more united as a nation than ten years previously Those who had formerly held that the French Revolution heralded the

War
renewed
1803

¹ See the story in Southey's *Life of Nelson*.

² See next Chapter



A CARTOON OF 1805 BY GILLRAY

Pitt holds the sea for England, while Napoleon helps himself to Europe.

dawn of European liberty, were now convinced that that very liberty was in danger from the ambitions of the First Consul. This feeling was expressed in Wordsworth's noble sonnet (1803) on the precious heritage of British freedom

We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake, the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held

The times were too serious to permit of Britain's first statesman living in retirement, early in 1804 Pitt was recalled to office. A month later Bonaparte crowned himself emperor as Napoleon I, he also converted the French conquests in Lombardy into the Kingdom of Italy, with himself as king. Having made these arrangements, he turned to the agreeable task of crushing Britain, as a preliminary to further European conquests. He saw that France, to achieve European supremacy, must first overcome 'these active islanders', as he called the British. Pitt endeavoured to counter his schemes by forming the Third Coalition—Britain, Austria, and Russia (1805).

During 1804 and 1805, Napoleon collected a large army at Boulogne for the purpose of invading England. He ordered the construction of a fleet of flat-bottomed boats for the transport of the soldiers. It merely remained for the French navy to clear the Channel of English ships, and the rest—Napoleon thought—would be comparatively easy. A certain amount of panic was created in England by these preparations,¹ especially as the camp at Boulogne could be seen through a telescope. There, on the white cliffs of France, were assembled the troops sworn to destroy English liberty, there, no doubt, paced the dreadful figure of 'Boncy', the Corsican ogre—the terrible little man whose soldiers always marched to victory. The British Navy, however, felt confident of its strength. Lord St Vincent (Admiral Jervis) said in the Upper House 'I do not say, my lords, that the French cannot come. I only say, they cannot come *by sea*'.

In the early months of 1805 the French carried out the preliminaries to the plan for the invasion of England. Napoleon

¹ See Thomas Hardy's novel, *The Trumpet Major*, for a description of the south coast of England during these years

ordered the various French and Spanish fleets—at Toulon, Cadiz, Corunna, Rochefort, and Brest—to elude the British blockade and sail for a secret rendezvous—Martinique.¹ The fleets from Toulon, Rochefort, and Cadiz all ran through the British blockade and sailed for the West Indies. Nelson, on guard in the Mediterranean and so far ignorant of their intentions, followed them (May 1805). When he reached Martinique, he guessed that the West Indies was merely a rendezvous, and that the French intended to attack England itself. He therefore sent a fast brig ahead to warn Lord Barham at the Admiralty, while he himself with the rest of the fleet some days later followed the enemy's armada back across the Atlantic. Lord Barham sent Calder to meet Villeneuve, and an indecisive action was fought off Cape Finisterre. Villeneuve, the French admiral, then put in at Corunna and later succeeded in reaching Cadiz, thus raising his fleet from 18 to 33 vessels. Meanwhile Napoleon heard that the Austrians were mobilizing, he therefore broke up his camp at Boulogne, and transferred his 'Army of England' to Germany (August 1805).

The Plan of
Invasion

The plan
abandoned
August
1805

The last three months of 1805 witnessed the two most spectacular victories of the whole war on sea and land respectively—Trafalgar and Austerlitz. While Napoleon was pursuing his victorious way across Germany, he ordered his admiral, Villeneuve, to come out and fight. The result was the battle of Trafalgar² (21 October 1805), when Nelson swept on the combined fleets of France and Spain, and vanquished them. Twenty out of the thirty-three enemy battleships were captured or sunk, and Nelson died on board the *Victory*, happy in the knowledge that he was the saviour of his country. In the naval war Trafalgar was decisive, Napoleon was never able to reverse the verdict of that October day, and for the remaining ten years of the war the power of the British Navy was not seriously challenged. At the Guildhall banquet that November

Trafalgar
21 October
1805

Death of
Nelson

¹ The French admirals were forbidden to open their sailing orders, telling them their destination, until they were well out to sea.

² Trafalgar was the last great victory won with sailing ships—those beautiful vessels which swept the seas from the Age of Drake to the Age of Nelson. Sailing vessels fought the battle of Navarino (1827), but steam ships took part in the American Civil War (1861-5).

the Prime Minister paid tribute to England's dead hero. Referring to the prestige which the fleet had won, he said: 'England has saved herself by her exertions; she will, I trust, save Europe by her example.'

But, even as he spoke, the armies of the relentless emperor were hacking their way across Europe. One Austrian army was surrounded at Ulm, and forced to surrender. Napoleon entered Vienna. Then, in December, he met the allied armies of Austria and Russia, and annihilated them at Austerlitz. His great victory—as overwhelming as Nelson's though not so lasting in its effects—forced Austria into a humiliating peace and left Napoleon a free hand in Germany. The news of Austerlitz was brought to London, where a sick and ageing man struggled with a burden too hard for him to bear. Pitt was studying a map of Europe when he heard the fatal news. 'Roll up that map,' he said,¹ adding with prophetic insight, 'it will not be wanted these ten years.' The blow was too much for Pitt's ebbing strength, and he quickly sank to his grave. 'My country, how I leave my country!' were his last words (January 1806).

Austerlitz
December
1805

Death
of Pitt
January
1806

His death opened the way for his great rival to enter the Cabinet, for the times were too serious to permit a half-crazy king to pursue any further his antipathy to Mr Fox. A Coalition Ministry was formed—the Ministry of All the Talents, it was called—in which Fox held the post of Foreign Secretary for the few months left to him of life. It was this ministry which has the eternal credit of passing the Act making the slave trade illegal² (1807). Fox died (September 1806) just before the Act was passed, but he helped in its introduction.

Ministry of
All the
Talents
1806-7

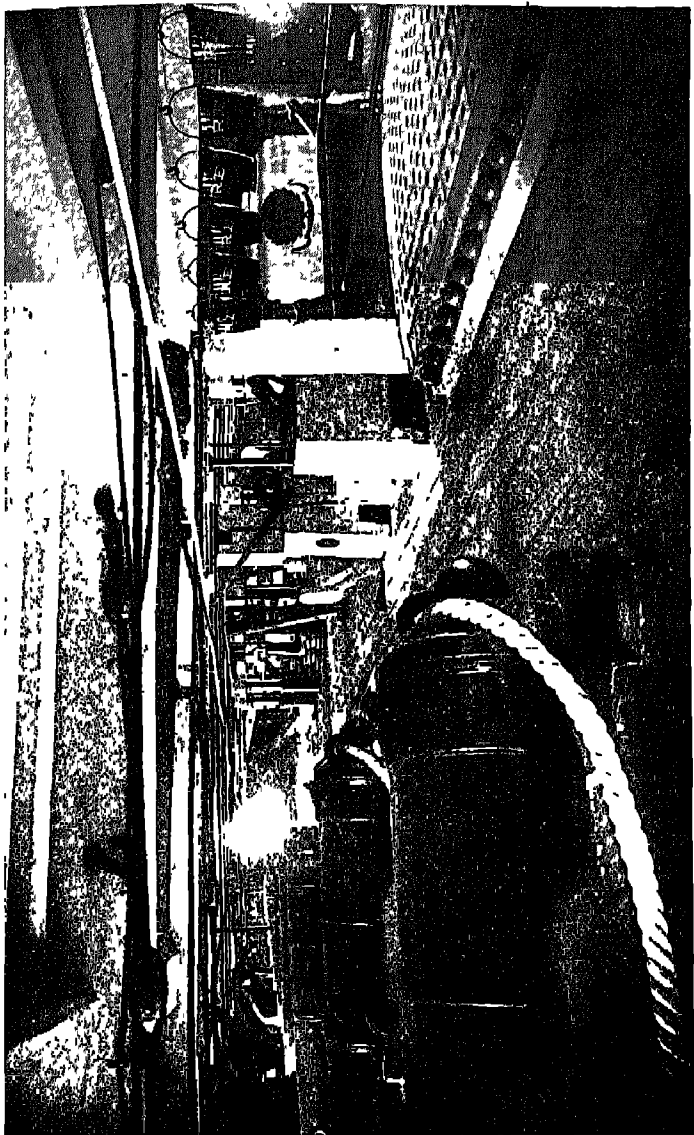
Death of
Fox
September
1806

Meanwhile, the wisdom of Pitt's remark about the map of Europe was becoming clear. Napoleon expelled the Bourbon king, Ferdinand, from Naples, and set up his own brother Joseph Bonaparte in his stead. His brother Louis became King of Holland. In Germany, after Austerlitz, Napoleon

Napoleonic
changes in
Europe

¹ There is some doubt whether Pitt actually made this remark. Austerlitz was not the only blow, another was the news that the Prussians had come to terms with Napoleon and accepted the bribe he offered them—Hanover.

² See Chapter XXXIX.



NELSON'S NAVY

The lower gun-deck of the *Victory* to-day, in Portsmouth dockyard

worked his will French influence was so supreme that all western Germany was formed into the 'Confederation of the Rhine' under French tutelage. In August 1806, Napoleon notified the German Diet that he no longer recognized the existence of the Holy Roman Empire, which had endured for a thousand years. The Emperor resigned his ancient title, and assumed that of Emperor of Austria, which his family retained till 1918. Apart from Austria and Prussia, Germany lay at the feet of Napoleon. Later in the same year, 1806, Napoleon picked a quarrel with Prussia, and inflicted on her the crushing defeat of Jena. He then entered yet another foreign capital—Berlin—and from there issued the Berlin Decree, aimed at Britain.

By this Berlin Decree Napoleon declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and forbade all commerce between them and France, or the states allied with France. Next year Napoleon made an alliance with the Tsar¹ (Treaty of Tilsit, 1807), who agreed to enforce the 'Continental System'—the name given to Napoleon's plan to ruin British commerce and 'cut off supplies to the stomach' of his enemy. 'I have every reason to hope', wrote Napoleon, 'that this measure will deal a deadly blow to England'. He *had* some reason for his hope, for he could control the ports of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Holland, and he had Russia for an ally. The British Government replied by their Orders in Council (1807). A counter-blockade was declared on the ports of France and her allies, and neutrals were forbidden to trade with Napoleon and his allies. Thus was all Europe involved in the fight to the death between Britain and Napoleon. The British working-class suffered from the high price of bread. But even Napoleon could not manage without British goods, and his own envoy—in spite of the Berlin Decree—smuggled British coats, caps, and shoes for the French army.

End of the
Holy
Roman
Empire
1806

Jena, 1806

Berlin
Decree
1806

Treaty of
Tilsit, 1807

The Conti-
nental
System

¹ The Russians had fought a drawn battle with the French at Eylau, and then were defeated at Friedland. Alexander was by this time disgusted by the collapse of the Coalition, and admired the astonishing feats of Napoleon. Like all the Romanovs, Alexander was somewhat unbalanced, so now he determined to change right round, and make friends with Napoleon.

Early in 1807 the Coalition ministry in Britain fell, the Tories came in and stayed in for twenty-three years (1807-30). First came a short but important ministry under the Duke of Portland (1807-9). This ministry included those two remarkable men—and inveterate enemies—George Canning and Lord Castlereagh.¹ Canning, as Foreign Secretary, received secret information that Napoleon and the Tsar were planning attacks on neutral countries, such as Denmark and Portugal. In particular he learned that Napoleon intended to seize the Danish fleet. Acting with great promptitude, Canning sent Admiral Gambier to the Sound to demand the immediate surrender of the Danish fleet. The Danes naturally refused so outrageous a request, but Gambier bombarded Copenhagen—that unfortunate city—till they gave way. He returned home with the Danish fleet as a prize. Continental countries were rightly indignant at this incident, which the British Government defended on the plea that they had merely forestalled the French.

Second
Battle
of Copen-
hagen, 1807

That all Europe must be involved in the struggle between the two great antagonists—the land-monster and the sea-monster—was soon made plain. In the same year that Britain seized the Danish fleet, Napoleon struck at Portugal, on the ground that the Portuguese were trading with Britain. General Junot's army overran Portugal, it arrived at Lisbon just too late to capture the King of Portugal and his family, who sailed away to Brazil on board a British ship which Canning had sent to the Tagus (1807).

French
invade
Portugal
1807

Napoleon now controlled Europe from Lisbon to Moscow. His enemies, on the other hand, controlled the seas. In the Mediterranean the British held Gibraltar and Malta, and maintained the exiled kings of Sardinia and Sicily² on the island parts of their dominions. In the outer world, the French, Dutch, and Spanish islands had again been seized since the breach of the Peace of Amiens; Cape Colony was permanently occupied (1806). It remained to be seen whether Napoleon could destroy Britain.

¹ Canning was Foreign Secretary; Castlereagh Secretary-at-War.

² The King of Sardinia had lost Piedmont, and the King of the Two Sicilies had lost Naples, both of which were in the hands of the French.

through his Continental System or whether that very system—with its war on sugar and cotton, tea and coffee—would raise up enemies against him

4 *The Overthrow of Napoleon*

The downfall of Napoleon was brought about by the Peninsular War and the rising of the nations in other parts of Europe. It will be convenient to follow the war in Spain to its conclusion, before dealing briefly with events elsewhere.

Napoleon
attacks
Spain, 1808

In 1808 Napoleon decided to overthrow the Bourbon monarchy of Spain. By a particularly mean trick—even for him—he lured the Spanish royal family into his power, and forced the king, Charles IV, to abdicate in favour of his son Ferdinand. He then insisted on Ferdinand's abdication, and gave the crown to his own brother, Joseph Bonaparte. The result of these manoeuvres was not at all what he expected. For fifteen years the French had been invading the territories of their neighbours, and overthrowing, with comparative ease, the governments opposed to them. In dealing with countries like Germany and Italy, which were divided up into small states under corrupt governments, there had been little difficulty. But Spain was a nation, not a collection of small states. Its government, it is true, was as bad as any in Europe, but the Spaniards were a proud people, ready to defend their independence. Moreover, there was virtually no sympathy, such as there was in other countries which French armies entered, for French liberal doctrines. For the first time in the war, the French encountered a truly national resistance. It was found necessary to garrison every Spanish town of any size, in order to keep the government of King Joseph in being.

The
Spanish
National
Rising

The Penin-
sular War
1809-13

It was at this point that the British Government made an important decision. So far our effort in the war had been almost entirely naval and colonial, now it was decided to embark on a military effort on a much larger scale. Canning and Castlereagh, who agreed in little else, agreed to this. A Spanish alliance was welcomed by English manufacturers, eager to sell their steel and cotton goods to the Spanish colonies in America. From the military point of view, the alliance proved to be decisive. English persistence kept alive the

Spanish revolt, and it was the 'Spanish ulcer', as Napoleon confessed, which ruined him

An army of 30,000 men was sent to Portugal under a young general called Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had already distinguished himself in India.¹ Wellesley won the battle of Vimiero, and was then superseded by superior officers arriving from England. Left to himself, Wellesley would probably have brought about the surrender of Junot's army, as it was, the French, by the Convention of Cintra (1808), were allowed to evacuate Portugal without further loss. Napoleon himself now came to Spain, he had an army of 250,000 to hold down the country. Sir John Moore, the new British commander, advanced into Spain, and so drew off a large proportion of the French army, and certainly saved Lisbon. Napoleon sent Marshal Soult to chase the English to the north of Spain. Moore was killed at Corunna—they 'buried him darkly at dead of night'—but his army safely embarked on a British fleet at that port (1809). Later in the year, Napoleon was obliged to return to Germany to fight the Austrians. He never recrossed the Pyrenees. Spain he left to his marshals.

Sir Arthur Wellesley was once again given the command in Portugal. In the campaign of 1809, he advanced into Spain and won the battle of Talavera, but was again forced to retreat to Lisbon. Marshal Masséna now took the offensive with the object of driving the 'English leopard' into the sea. But Wellington's² tactics in 1810 foiled him. The English commander constructed lines of trenches across the peninsula on which Lisbon stands. These lines, known as the lines of Torres Vedras, were so well fortified that Masséna found it impossible to attack them. Besides this, Wellington had devastated the country around, so that Masséna soon found his army starving. Wellington, on the other hand, was in an impregnable position behind the lines, with Lisbon as a base, and Lisbon was supplied from the sea. Masséna was forced to retreat with heavy losses (1811), and the French did not enter Portugal again.

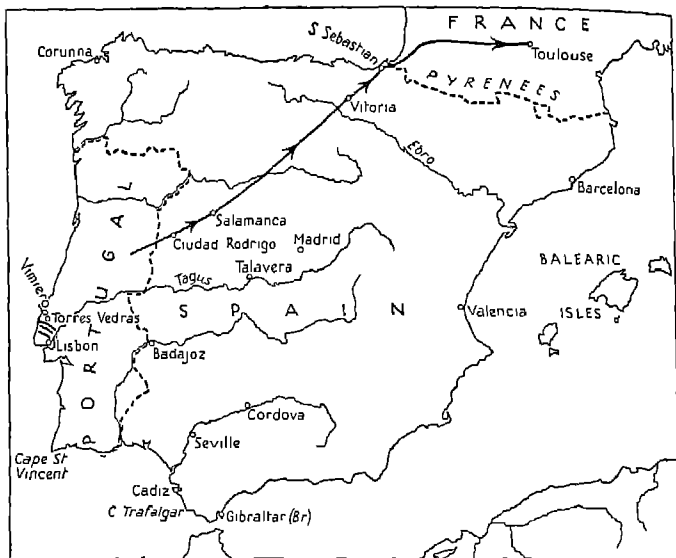
These tactics wore down the French, who were further

¹ See Chapter XXXIV

² Wellesley was made a peer in 1809, taking the title of Lord Wellington. He was made a duke in 1814.

Difficulties
of the
French

hampered by their long lines of communication—500 miles from Portugal to the Pyrenees. The Spaniards waged a guerilla warfare all the time, attacking French columns on the march and then retiring to their mountains. Napoleon, during the Peninsular War, had to wage two other major campaigns, one



SPAIN AND PORTUGAL THE PENINSULAR WAR

against Austria (1809) and one against Russia (1812). This made it difficult for him to relieve his harassed troops in the Peninsula. Above all, the supremacy of the British at sea secured our connexion with Lisbon, on which the whole of Wellington's schemes depended.

The
Advance
into Spain
1812

In 1812—the year of Napoleon's fatal expedition to Moscow—Wellington felt strong enough to advance into Spain. He began by storming the two fortresses of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, which commanded the two main roads from Portugal into Spain. Then he advanced as far as Salamanca, where he won a brilliant victory, and entered Madrid, whence Joseph Bonaparte fled. In spite of these successes, the British commander

thought it well to retire once more to Portugal for the winter. But in 1813 he reaped his reward. Starting from Portugal in May, he crossed the Pyrenees within forty days, driving the French before him. The last considerable action in Spain was fought at Vitoria, where King Joseph lost all his artillery and stores, Wellington's campaign of 1814 began in the south of France. But by that time Napoleon was fighting with his back to the wall.

We must now turn to glance at the rest of Europe during the time of the Peninsular War. In 1809 the British government sent an expedition under Lord Chatham (Pitt's brother) to the island of Walcheren, for the purpose of attacking Antwerp. The expedition was a dismal failure, and brought about the fall of the Government. Canning quarrelled with Castlereagh over Walcheren, and the two ministers fought a duel, both resigned from the Cabinet. A new ministry was formed under Spencer Perceval (1809-12), who was assassinated three years later by a lunatic in the precincts of the House of Commons.

Napoleon, meanwhile, had considerable difficulties with his enormous empire, the populations of which were feeling keenly the loss of British trade. He had to depose his brother Louis, King of Holland, because he refused to put the Continental System into force (1810). In order to control the continental ports, Napoleon now annexed to France not only Holland, but the whole German coast up to the Elbe.¹ Soon after this the Tsar followed King Louis' example, and broke with Napoleon. The French Emperor therefore embarked on his great Russian campaign (1812), which ended in one of the most appalling disasters in military history. The Russians set fire to Moscow, and Napoleon had to retreat across the frozen plains back to Germany, he lost more than five-sixths of his army of 600,000 men.

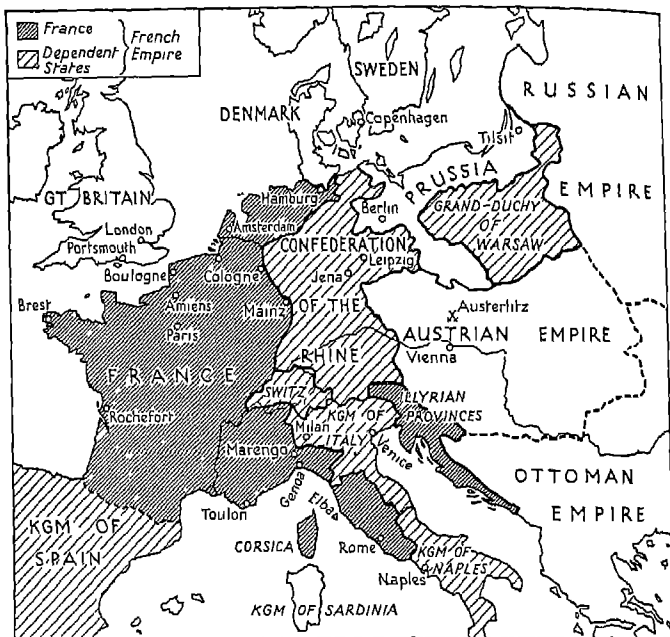
In 1812 Lord Liverpool became Prime Minister in England, and Lord Castlereagh Foreign Secretary (1812-22) and leader of the House of Commons.² Castlereagh was the most

¹ He even annexed a narrow strip in the south of Denmark, which brought French territory to the Baltic.

² Lord Castlereagh was not a member of the British peerage, his *Irish* peerage did not entitle him to sit in the House of Lords.

Castlereagh
Fourth
Coalition
1813

important figure in British politics for the next ten years. He arranged the Fourth Coalition (1813)—Britain, Russia, and Prussia, and later Austria—which was destined to bring Napoleon to his knees. The revival of Prussia was followed by



EUROPE UNDER NAPOLEON, 1811

a real national awakening in Germany, and the year 1813 witnessed the War of Liberation in that country. All the German states threw off their allegiance to Napoleon, who had now to fight for his empire. He won another battle at Dresden, but at Leipzig—the 'Battle of the Nations'—he was decisively defeated (1813). Even then Napoleon might have secured fair terms—he was offered the Rhine frontier. But he obstinately refused.

Leipzig
1813

Alles
invade
France

By 1814, as we have seen, Wellington was over the Pyrenees, he defeated the French at Toulouse. At the same time the

allies¹—Russians, Germans, and Austrians—advanced into France, and the French, for the first time for twenty years, had to defend their own country. Napoleon fell back towards Paris, but the weight of numbers was too strong for him. Finally he signed his abdication at Fontainebleau (1814). He was taken to the island of Elba, and the victorious allies set about the difficult business of settling the frontiers of Europe.

Napoleon
at Elba
1814

The defeat of Napoleon was due, in the first place, to the fact that he could never secure command of the sea, and so could never defeat Britain. In the second place, it was due to the failure of his Continental System to achieve its designed end introduced in order to cripple Britain, it ended by turning Napoleon's allies into enemies and arousing everywhere the spirit of national resistance. First Spain, then Holland, then Russia, then Germany—all these countries had revolted against the Napoleonic system. The help given at the critical moment by England to Spain, where the first national rising occurred, was the turning-point. The result was secured by the persistence of the British effort and the revival of our allies.

Reasons for
Napoleon's
Fall

5 *Waterloo and Vienna*

The Congress of Vienna, which met to make a general settlement of Europe after the war, began its labours in 1814. Prussia, backed by Russia, fell into controversy with Austria, backed by Britain²—and more than once it seemed that war might break out between the former allies over Polish and Saxon territory.

The Con-
gress of
Vienna
1814-15

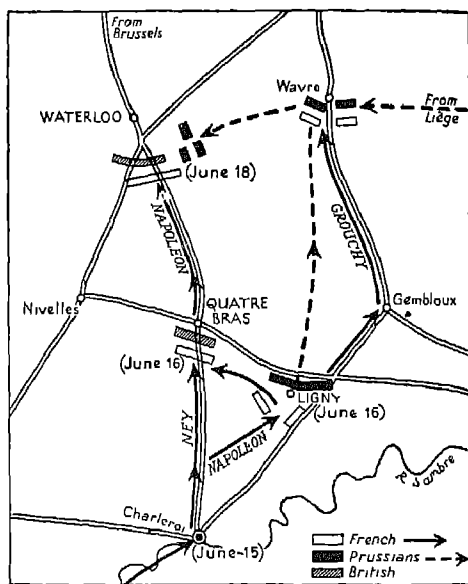
The Bourbon monarchy was restored in France, with Louis

¹ It was now that the allies—Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain—signed the Treaty of Chaumont (March 1814) agreeing to unite their forces for the overthrow of Napoleon and to make an alliance for twenty years to guarantee the peace of Europe. This treaty led to the Quadruple Alliance and to the Congress system after 1815. (See Chap XXXVI.)

² After the downfall of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons, the French government claimed a share in the deliberations at Vienna. Talleyrand, the astute French diplomat, held the balance between the contending Powers. In January 1815, France, Austria, and Britain even went so far as to sign a defensive alliance against Prussia and Russia!

XVIII, a brother of Louis XVI, as king. But while the diplomats quarrelled at Vienna, and while the French people tried the doubtful experiment of a Bourbon restoration, Napoleon intervened. He escaped from Elba and landed in France. The soldiers sent to arrest him joined him instead and Louis XVIII

Napoleon
escapes
February
1815



THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN

fled from Paris. A few days later the Emperor was back in the Tuileries.

The Hundred Days (March-June) Napoleon's restoration—his Hundred Days—was an anxious time for the allies, the nightmare of Napoleonic conquest once more loomed over Europe. The war against France was renewed, Britain declined to make peace as long as Napoleon remained on the throne. The command of the main allied army, chiefly British and German, was given to the Duke of Wellington.

The Waterloo Campaign This army assembled in Belgium; Brussels was the Duke's head-quarters. In June 1815 Napoleon suddenly brought his forces up to Charleroi, on the Sambre, about 35 miles south of

Brussels On 16 June the emperor divided his army into two parts, sending Ney to attack the British at Quatre-Bras, on the Brussels-Charleroi road, while he himself led the attack on the Prussians at Ligny (see map). The battle of Ligny was Napoleon's last victory, he drove the Prussians back, and imagined that they were knocked out of the campaign. On 17 June, Napoleon joined Ney on the Brussels road. The next morning he began the attack on Wellington, who awaited him in front of the village of Waterloo. The allied army numbered 67,000, of whom 24,000 were British, the French had 72,000. The battle, which lasted all day, began by an attack on the British positions at farms called Hougomont and La Haye Sainte. The latter position was taken by the late afternoon, but by that time the Prussians were coming on to the field. Blücher, the Prussian commander, had retired northwards after the battle of Ligny. The night of 17 June he lay at Wavre, 13 miles east of Waterloo. He sent a message promising to come to Wellington's aid, and he fulfilled his promise. Wellington was hard pressed when the Prussians came up, but the arrival of fresh troops turned the scale. About 7 o'clock Napoleon sent forward the Imperial Guard, then he launched his last cavalry reserve. When he knew that Napoleon had put forth his final effort, Wellington ordered the whole British line to advance. The French were routed, the battle was over. 'It has been a damned nice thing,' remarked the Duke afterwards, 'the nearest thing you ever saw in your life.' Much credit was due to Wellington and to his staff—who suffered heavily. Wellington himself was always on the spot at the critical moment, directing the course of action, regardless of personal danger.

After Waterloo Napoleon abdicated a second time, and surrendered to the British. He was taken to the little isolated island of St Helena in the Atlantic, where he died six years later. Napoleon's unquenchable passion for war and restless personal ambition both inflicted untold harm and suffering on millions of innocent people over a long period of years. His career, nevertheless, was not entirely mischievous: his civil reforms in France itself were permanent and all to the good, while his conquests of Italy and Germany swept away some of

the ancient petty governments in those countries and prepared the way for their great advance in the nineteenth century

The prestige of Britain had never stood higher than in the year of Waterloo. The long duration of the British effort in the war, far surpassing that of her allies, the fame of her great general, the invincibility of her Navy—all combined to enhance the majesty of Britain in the eyes of Europe. The British army, thanks to Wellington's command, had renewed the great traditions of the Marlburian era. Wellington, who was a realist, described his men as 'the scum of the earth, enlisted for drink'; but the iron discipline of the Army—of which the military floggings were a degrading feature—moulded this unpromising material into fine soldiers. The British soldiers who pushed Napoleon's veterans across the Pyrenees were undoubtedly men of a hard and brutal type. But they were not permitted to live entirely on plunder, like the French, nor were they so brutal as the Prussian army of occupation in France, whose behaviour disgusted Wellington.

The
British
Army

Castlereagh
at Vienna

Treatment
of France

The services of Castlereagh and Wellington, Britain's representatives at the Congress of Vienna, were invaluable. It was due to them that the allies, particularly Prussia, were prevented from taking revenge on France for the misdeeds of Napoleon. Wellington scorned revenge, and Britain has seldom been represented abroad by a greater statesman than Lord Castlereagh, though his merits were not recognized by the mass of his countrymen. Castlereagh prevented the possibility of a war of revenge by France, he saw that the defeated nation was fairly treated. France was reduced to the limits of her 1791 frontiers and had to pay an indemnity, she lost no territory that had been held by the Bourbons. Britain restored most of the French colonies.

In other respects the Congress was not so happy in its decisions. Poland was not freed, but re-divided among her preying neighbours. The rulers of the petty Italian states, whom the French Revolution had overthrown, were restored to misgovern their dominions, it took two more revolutions (1848 and 1860) to get rid of them. The Bourbon family was restored on the thrones of France, Spain, and Naples; Louis XVIII granted a charter to his people, but the other restora-

tions meant civil war, followed by a long period of misrule. Another defect of the Vienna Settlement was the arbitrary method by which certain territories were handed over to foreign rulers, no regard being paid to the wishes of the inhabitants, or to the principle of nationality. The most glaring instances of this fault were the re-partition of Poland, already mentioned, the handing over of the Italians of Lombardy and Venetia to Austria, and the joining together of Holland and Belgium under the Dutch king. The main result which emerged from the Treaty of Vienna was that the three victorious land-powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, become masters of the Continent.

Of the many conquests which Britain had made all over the world from France and her allies—Spain, Holland, and Denmark—a great part was restored. The French and Spanish West Indian isles—St. Lucia, Tobago, and Trinidad—were retained. So was Malta, and also Mauritius (in the Indian Ocean). But Java and Sumatra, Holland's valuable East Indian isles, were restored, though a few years later the Dutch agreed to give up Malacca¹ to Britain, in exchange for a British station in Sumatra. The Danes surrendered the rock of Heligoland in the North Sea, and a British protectorate was established over the Ionian Islands in the eastern Mediterranean. We paid the Dutch three million pounds to keep British Guiana, and six million pounds to keep the Cape of Good Hope, we also kept Ceylon. Most of these places—Malta, the Cape, Mauritius, Ceylon, Singapore—were valued as being useful ports of call for the Navy and merchant-ships rather than as possible colonies. Hanover was of course restored to the British king, but this remained a purely personal union.

British
Gains in
1815

Summary of the Vienna Settlement, 1815

A Settlement of Europe.

1 *Germany* All Germany, under the leadership of Austria, was formed into the German Confederation (now thirty-nine states instead of over three hundred and fifty before Napoleon), which

¹ Singapore, which commands the Straits of Malacca, was bought by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819 for the East India Company from the Rajah of Johore.

lasted till 1866 *Austria* received the Italian province of Lombardy (which she had held before the war) and, in addition, the whole territory of the ancient Italian republic of Venice—a short-sighted arrangement *Prussia* received a large part of Saxony (which had always fought for Napoleon) and another large province in western Germany, known as the Rhine Province and Westphalia

2 *Italy* All the old states were restored, except the republics of Venice (to Austria) and Genoa (to Sardinia)

3 North Europe *Russia* received most of Poland, also Finland from Sweden *Sweden* was compensated with Norway (formerly Danish)—Norway and Sweden remained united till 1905

4 Holland and Belgium were joined together as the *Kingdom of the Netherlands*, under a Dutch ruler This union lasted till the Belgians revolted in 1830

5 The *Turkish Empire* was not dealt with, but Russia had gained Bessarabia shortly before 1815

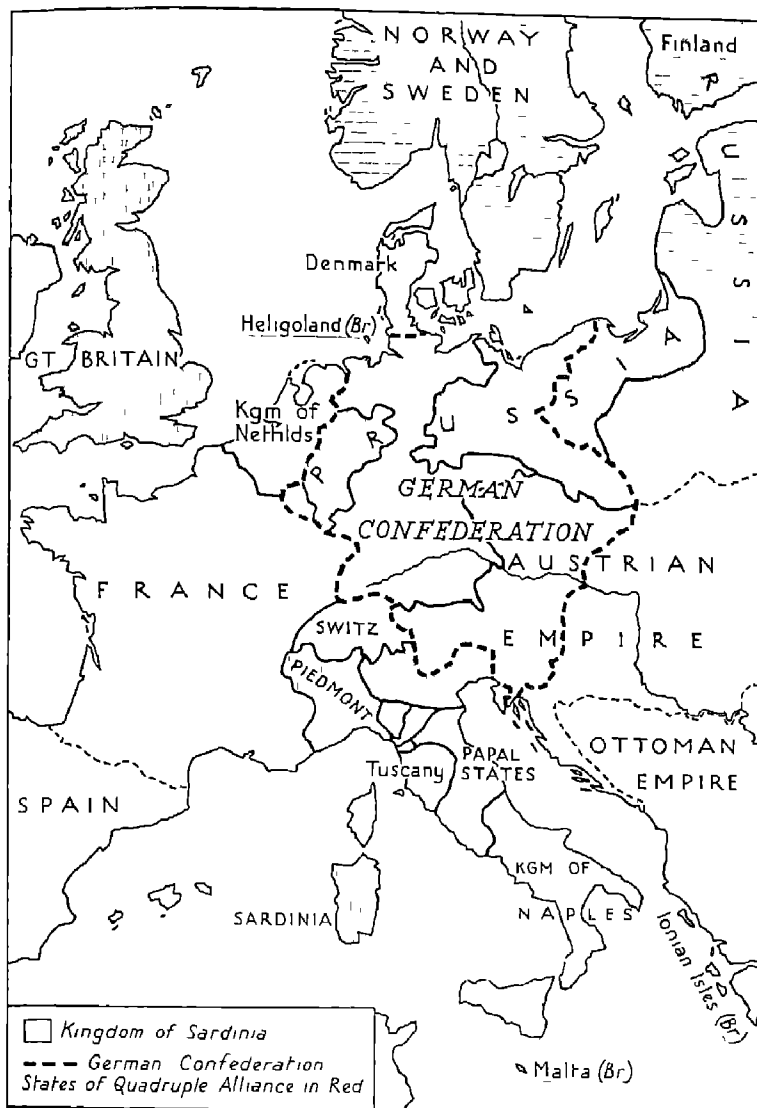
B British Gains in 1815

1. In Europe Heligoland (from Denmark), Malta, and the Ionian Isles (Greece) Hanover restored

2 In America St Lucia, Tobago, Trinidad, British Honduras, and British Guiana ¹

3 In Africa and the Indian Ocean Cape Colony, Mauritius, and (in 1824 but arising out of this Treaty) Malacca, Ceylon had been ceded to Britain by the Dutch in 1802 (Treaty of Amiens)

¹ Surinam (Dutch Guiana) was restored to Holland



II. EUROPE IN 1815

DATE SUMMARY THE GREAT FRENCH WAR (1793-1815)

SEA	BRITISH MILITARY EFFORTS	FRANCE AND EUROPE
	THE CONVENTION AND THE DIRECTORY (1793-9)	
1793 Siege of Toulon	1793 British expedition to Netherlands	1793-5 Conquest of Belgium and Holland
1794 ✕ 1st of June		1795 Treaty of Basle (Prussia) Spain makes peace Directory in France
1795 Landing at Cape Town		1796-7 Napoleon's Italian Campaign
1796-7 Ceylon and Dutch East Indies		Conquest of N Italy
1797 (Feb) ✕ Cape St Vincent		1797 Treaty of Campo Formio
Trinidad captured	1798-1905 Wellesley in India	1799 Second Coalition
1798 ✕ Nile		1799 Napoleon's <i>Coup d'état</i>
1799 Siege of Acre Nelson at Naples		

NAPOLEON FIRST CONSUL (1799-1804)

1800 British take Malta	1800 ✕ Marengo
1801 Armed Neutrality of the North	
First ✕ Copenhagen	1802 Treaty of Amiens
	1803 War renewed
	1804 Napoleon Emperor

NAPOLEON EMPEROR (1804-15)

1804-5 Invasion of England scheme	1805 Third Coalition
1805 ✕ Trafalgar	✕ Austerlitz
	Napoleon master of Italy and Germany
1807 Second ✕ Copenhagen	1806 ✕ Jena Napoleon in Berlin
British fleet in the Tagus	1807 Treaty of Tilsit
	French invade Portugal
1808 Wellesley in Portugal	1808 Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain
✕ Vimiero	1809 ✕ Wagram
1809 Walcheren Expedition	
1810-11 Torres Vedras	1812 Retreat from Moscow
1812 ✕ Salamanca	1813 Fourth Coalition
1813 ✕ Vitoria	✕ Leipzig
1814 ✕ Toulouse	1814 Treaty of Chaumont
	Allies invade France
	Napoleon abdicates
1815 (June) ✕ Waterloo	1815 (Feb) Napoleon escapes from Elba
	(Mar-June) Hundred Days
	1815 Treaty of Vienna

FRENCH GOVERNMENTS	
The Convention	1792-5
The Directory	1795-9
The Consulate	1799-1804
The Empire	1804-14 and 1815

COALITIONS (v FRANCE)	
First Coalition	1793-5
Second "	1799-1800
Third "	1805
Fourth "	1813-15

XXXIII

IRELAND (1775-1800)

I. *Grattan*

Ireland in the eighteenth century

FOR eighty years after the broken Treaty of Limerick,¹ there is little to record in the history of Ireland. The country was quiet, but it was the quietness of death. In an earlier chapter it was shown how England crushed Ireland, first by military conquest, and then by a systematic persecution. Penal laws were enacted against the Roman Catholics, and a fierce commercial code ruined Irish industries, lest they should compete with those of Britain. Hundreds of Irishmen, despairing of their own unhappy country, emigrated abroad. The King of France had a special brigade, called the Irish Brigade, formed entirely of exiled Irishmen. These men revenged themselves on England by fighting against her on the Continent, during the various wars of the eighteenth century.

Irish Emigration

Some improvement in the position of the Catholics—the vast majority of the people—took place towards the middle of the century, the more absurd of the laws restricting their freedom were allowed to fall into disuse. There were still, however, many circumstances which made Ireland a discontented land, and certainly the worst-governed part of the dominions of the British Crown.

The conquest of Ireland under Cromwell and William III had led to a re-settlement of the smaller island by an intolerant, Protestant England. One result of this had been that the native Catholic landlords had been dispossessed of their lands, which had then been given to men of an alien race—Englishmen or Scots. To imagine Ireland in the eighteenth century, we must picture a nation ruled by foreigners—English officials at Dublin Castle, and men of English descent as the squires of every village. It was to these Protestant, Anglo-Irish families that all political power was confined. No Catholic was allowed to vote, still less to sit in Parliament, or

The Protestant Oligarchy

¹ See above, Chapter XXV

to take part in local government. The Irish Parliament, which sat at Dublin, was allowed to pass only such laws as the English Government approved. Such was the state of Catholic Ireland. The Protestant North was scarcely better off, for Ulster was Presbyterian. Here again, English religious bigotry did its evil work, the Ulster Presbyterians were prevented by the Test Act from taking any part in the government. Thus the vast majority of the people of Ireland, both in Ulster and in the Catholic South, was excluded from all political power, which was jealously confined to the nominees of Dublin Castle. The Irish Parliament was, if possible, more corrupt than that of England, the rotten borough system ensured that the nominated members should continue to serve the interests of the English ascendancy.¹

Was it possible that such a country as Ireland should rise from the ashes of its degradation? The history of Ireland during the last quarter of the eighteenth century supplied the answer to this question. For then the oppressed nation made a great and almost successful effort to break its bonds, then it found a leader, then the age-long strife with England came near to a peaceful settlement. But then this fateful quarter-century (1775-1800), which began with such promise of better things, ended in the old unhappy way—in civil war, and in unsuccessful rebellion.

It was among the Protestants that Ireland first found a leader. The Irish Protestant Parliament, dependent as it was on England, chafed under its servitude. Among its members were many who resented the fact that Ireland was bound to a foreign master, and who wished to loosen the bonds. Henry Grattan, the leader of the national revival, was a moderate-minded, earnest Irish patriot, who desired the freedom of all his countrymen, the Catholics no less than his fellow Protestants. As statesman and orator, Grattan is only to be compared, among eighteenth-century leaders, with the elder Pitt. Had a bolder and more far-seeing man than Pitt's son been in charge of affairs at Westminster in Grattan's day, the Irish problem might have been solved before 1790.

¹ The Irish Parliament was generally more anti-Catholic than the English Parliament, because it feared the Catholics more

'England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity' is a saying the truth of which has often been shown in history. The two main crises through which England passed in this quarter-century—the American Revolution and the War of the French Revolution—both had important reactions on Ireland. The outbreak of the American War caused Ireland to be denuded of English troops, and, when in 1778 France declared war upon Great Britain, there was a very serious danger that Ireland would be conquered by the French, and afterwards used as a base for attacking England.

After all the oppression which Ireland had endured at English hands, it seems strange that a French attack was not welcomed by the Irish during the American War. That it was not was largely due to the efforts of Grattan, who encouraged the formation of Irish volunteer regiments to defend the country in case of invasion. The formation of the Volunteers caused no little alarm in England, but they served their purpose, there was no French invasion. At the same time, the enthusiasm with which Catholic and Protestant alike rushed to the colours proved that Irish national feeling was not dead. Grattan used the occasion to extort concessions from England, which Lord North's Government dared not refuse, in the face of the armed Volunteers.¹ So in 1780 the obnoxious commercial code was swept away. This was the first step. Then (1782) Lord Rockingham's short-lived Government repealed Poyning's Act, which had for three long centuries bound the Irish Parliament to the dictates of the English Privy Council. The Dublin Parliament was made free of the control of Westminster, and started on its brief career (1782-1800) as an independent body.

There were still two reforms for which there was a crying need. These were a Reform Bill for Ireland (no less necessary for England!) to abolish government by bribery and rotten boroughs, and Roman Catholic Emancipation, i.e. the abolition of all the laws by which the Catholic majority was excluded from political power. It was these reforms which the moderate

The American War

The Irish Volunteers

Repeal of the Commercial Laws, 1780, and of Poyning's Act, 1782

A lost opportunity 1783-93

¹ The success of the American rebels, who had fewer grievances than the Irish, had made the British Government less confident, and more willing to compromise.

element in Ireland, led by the Protestant Grattan, ardently desired. For a whole decade (1783-93) Grattan led Ireland, while Pitt ruled England. The Irish reformers could not agree among themselves, and Pitt did nothing. Perhaps in his heart Pitt saw the force of Grattan's arguments, but he could not carry his English Tory adherents with him. So he let the sleeping dogs lie—with disastrous results.

2 *The Rebellion and the Union*

The effects of the French Revolution were soon felt in Ireland. There was a widespread movement in favour of the French ideals, and soon a party was formed which demanded far more than Grattan had ever contemplated. The United Irishmen, a society formed in 1792, was anti-English and republican in aim. Its leaders, Wolfe Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, sought to unite the Catholics of the South with the Presbyterians of the North against the rule of England.

The United
Irishmen
1792

Pitt made one concession to Irish feeling by granting the vote to Catholics (1793). Then, in 1795, he sent over Lord Fitzwilliam, a Whig who had joined his government at the time of the Burke-Fox split.¹ Fitzwilliam was a man of liberal views, he entirely sympathized with the idea of complete Catholic emancipation, and he led the Irish to suppose that such was the view of the British Government. If he thought that Pitt would support him, he was deceived, after a few months he was recalled to England. His recall had a most unfortunate effect in Ireland, it was taken for granted that the limit of British concessions had now been reached. The wilder spirits therefore moved towards open rebellion.

Lord Fitz-
william
1795

The United Irishmen now began to correspond with the French republicans, who promised to come to their aid. A French general, Hoche, appeared with a fleet in Bantry Bay, with 15,000 soldiers on board. A storm dispersed the ships, and Hoche failed to land, had he done so, Britain might have found her supremacy in Ireland endangered.

Hoche's
Expedition
1796

Meanwhile, Wolfe Tone's effort to include the Protestants in his organization broke down owing to his alliance with the Catholic 'Defender' movement. The 'United' Irishmen

¹ See above, p. 696

became a misnomer, that society was now almost entirely composed of Roman Catholics, and hatred of the English was stirred up by the priests. In Ulster, Orange Lodges were formed to combat the danger from Catholics, Protestants all over the country rallied to the Government to save the country from a French invasion. A horrible civil war broke out wherever Orangemen and Catholics came in contact. The Government employed Protestant yeomanry to put down the United Irishmen, the yeomanry hunted down suspected Catholics in a manner reminiscent of the worst days of Cromwell or Elizabeth. Once again ugly passions were aroused in the name of religion, murders and other outrages were committed by both sides.

The excesses of which the Protestant yeomanry were guilty provoked the rebellion of '98. The rising was ill planned and soon suppressed. General Lake defeated the main rebel force at Vinegar Hill, County Wexford. Other local efforts, led in many cases by priests, were put down, all with great cruelty. The French sent a small force (1,000 men) under General Humbert which landed in Killala Bay, routed some of Lake's troops at Castlebar, but was finally outnumbered and forced to surrender. Another French expedition was destroyed at sea. On board one of the captured ships was Wolfe Tone, the Irish leader. He was tried for treason, and sentenced to death, but committed suicide in prison. The heroic Lord Edward Fitzgerald had already been captured fighting, and had died of his wounds.

When the last Catholic rising had been stamped out, and the last Frenchman captured, Ireland once more lay at the feet of her conqueror. Lord Cornwallis, who had just come over as Viceroy, deplored the intolerant tone he found among the English officials at Dublin Castle, and among his own officers. Pitt, at last giving some attention to Irish affairs, now decided to bring about a union of the Parliaments, such as had already taken place between England and Scotland. Lord Castlereagh, who was Secretary to the Viceroy, was entrusted with the task of putting the Bill of Union through the Irish Parliament. Two methods were employed to induce the Irish Parliament to vote for its own abolition. One was the usual method—bribery.

The Orange
Lodges

The
Protestant
Yeomanry

The Irish
Rebellion
1798

Its sup-
pression

The Act of
Union
1800

Money was poured out to members of the Dublin Parliament, lavish promises of peerages were made. Pitt's second method¹ was to hold out the promise of Catholic Emancipation to Ireland, Catholics were to be allowed to sit in Parliament, and the remaining laws against them repealed. It was this promise—which deceived the Catholics into thinking they were going to receive their freedom—which Pitt found himself unable to carry out.

The Bill of Union (1800) was introduced by Lord Castlereagh into the Irish Parliament, and carried in spite of Grattan's opposition. In one of his noblest speeches the Irish patriot spoke against the measure, and prophesied that the day would come when Ireland would regain her liberty.

'Liberty may repair her golden beams, and with redoubled heart animate the country. I do not give up the country. I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead, though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheeks a glow of beauty.

Thou art not conquered, beauty's ensign yet
Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
And death's pale flag is not advanced there.'²

The Bill was passed, and the Dublin Parliament came to an end (1 January 1801). Ireland was for the future to be represented by 100 members in the House of Commons at Westminster, and by 28 peers and 4 bishops in the British House of Lords. And there was at last to be free trade between the two islands.

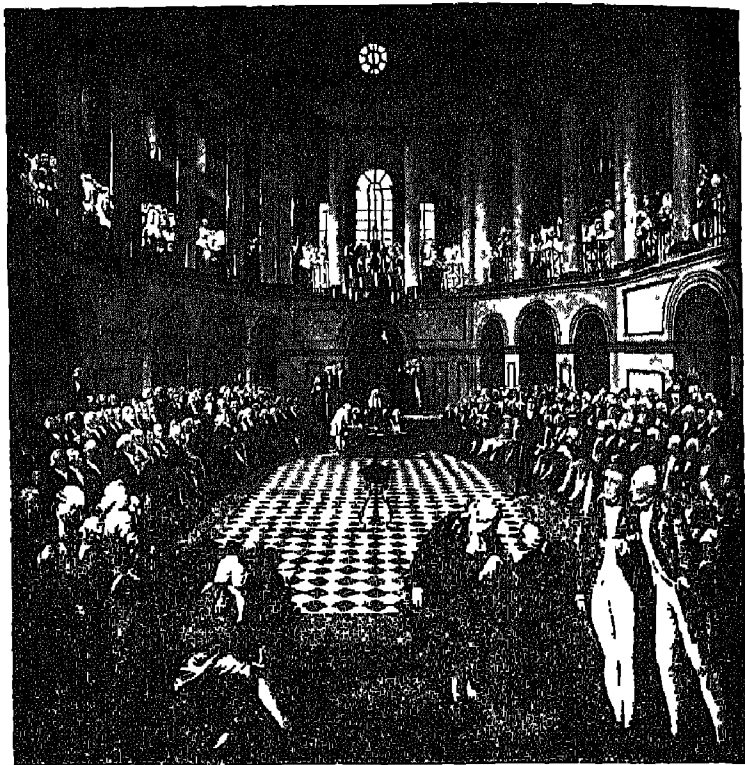
The Union might have been made to work had the promise of Catholic Emancipation been carried out, as the promise was broken, there was no chance of the Union working successfully. Pitt had intended to carry out his promise. But, when he found that George III considered that to give the Irish Catholics their political freedom would be to violate his coronation oath, the

Pitt's
broken
promise

¹ This method had no influence on the Irish Parliament, which was more against Catholic Emancipation than the English Parliament. But it had much influence upon educated Catholic opinion, most of which had never been in favour of Wolfe Tone's activities.

² The quotation is from *Romeo and Juliet*.

Premier gave way Pitt salved his conscience by resigning (1801) In Ireland a distracted people looked forward to the nineteenth century, which was destined, like most of its predecessors, to bring the country fresh difficulties, and hopes doomed to disappointment



THE GREAT PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND, ELECTED 1790

THE EMPIRE UNDER GEORGE III

I *India*(1) *Warren Hastings*

After Clive's career in India,¹ the whole problem of Anglo-Indian relations entered on a new stage. Before Clive's conquest of Bengal, the East India Company had been concerned merely with matters of trade, now, for better or worse, the servants of the Company had taken over political power. No one, even then, could foresee that the whole of India was destined to pass under British control. But it was already obvious that British responsibilities were too great to be left to the Company alone. Lord North's Government therefore passed the Regulating Act (1773). By this Act the Governor of Bengal was made Governor-General of all the Company's possessions in India. He was to rule with the aid of a Council of Four, whose vote could restrain his actions. He was also bound to submit his political decisions to the approval not only of the Company, but of the British Government.

North's
Regulating
Act, 1773

It was under this Act that Warren Hastings, who had already been, for two years, Governor of Bengal, was appointed Governor-General of India. The first in the long line of Governor-Generals, Warren Hastings stands not unworthily at the head of those men whom Britain has sent to govern the East—men who have seldom failed to play a great part on that magnificent stage. Hastings' qualities—resourcefulness, a high courage, and a capacity for hard work—were just those that were needed. For the eleven years of his rule were a testing time, and a time when lesser men, such as those who had to deal with the American War, might easily have lost India.

Warren
Hastings
1774-85

However, Warren Hastings was only human, and he made mistakes, of which his enemies took advantage. He was hampered at every turn by the Council of Four, whom the constitution (under the Regulating Act) obliged him to consult.

Hastings
and the
Council

¹ See above, pp 612-17

Three of its members, including the vindictive Philip Francis, were his personal enemies, so that he could seldom obtain a majority vote in the Council for his measures. At last a crisis arose over the execution of a wealthy Hindu, named Nuncomar, for forgery. The Council sympathized with Nuncomar, and Francis believed (and afterwards asserted) that the Hindu had been put out of the way because he was about to expose Hastings' own misdeeds. In 1776 one of Hastings' three enemies on the Council died, and the situation became less strained. But Hastings and Francis ultimately fought a duel; Francis was severely wounded, and had to return to England, where he did his best to poison every one's mind against the Governor-General.

The main crisis of Hastings' rule arose on the outbreak of the Maritime War with France (1778-83).¹ The danger was that the French would give help to those native princes in India who were hostile to the British power. Of these princes the most formidable were the chieftains of the famous Mahratta Confederacy, and Hyder Ali, the able and warlike ruler of Mysore. The first Mahratta War, which Hastings waged, was of short duration, and the main trouble arose in southern India. Hyder Ali was a Mohammedan adventurer who had usurped the throne of Mysore from Hindu rulers. In 1780 he invaded the Carnatic, which was under British protection, and threatened Madras itself. Hastings, as soon as he heard the news, acted with great vigour: he sent Sir Eyre Coote with all the men he could collect to the Carnatic. Coote, on the scene of his former triumphs,² beat Hyder Ali at Porto Novo, and so saved Madras. Meanwhile, the French had entered the conflict. Admiral Suffren, with a strong squadron, did his best to cut the British sea communications with India. He was opposed by Admiral Sir Edward Hughes. This naval struggle, though fought for three years, was indecisive. The death of Hyder Ali (1782), and the end of the French War (1783), at last brought peace to India. Thanks to Warren Hastings, British India had not gone the way of the American Colonies.

Hastings left India in 1785. On his return home, instead of receiving the public recognition which his great services

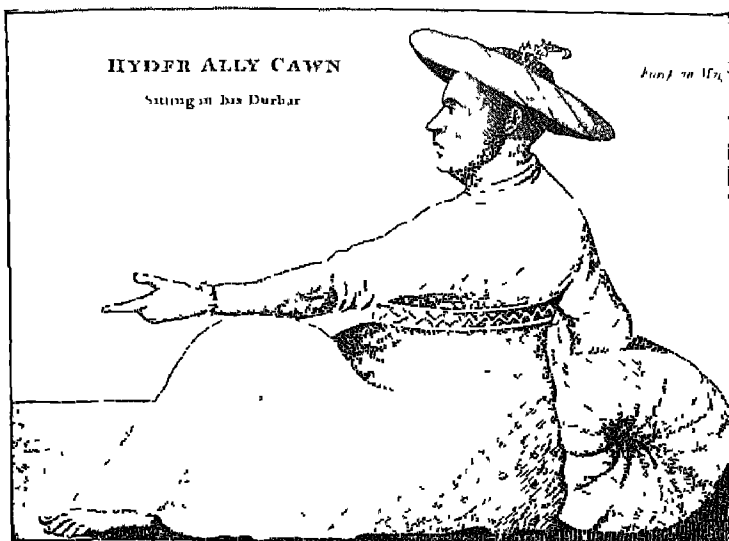
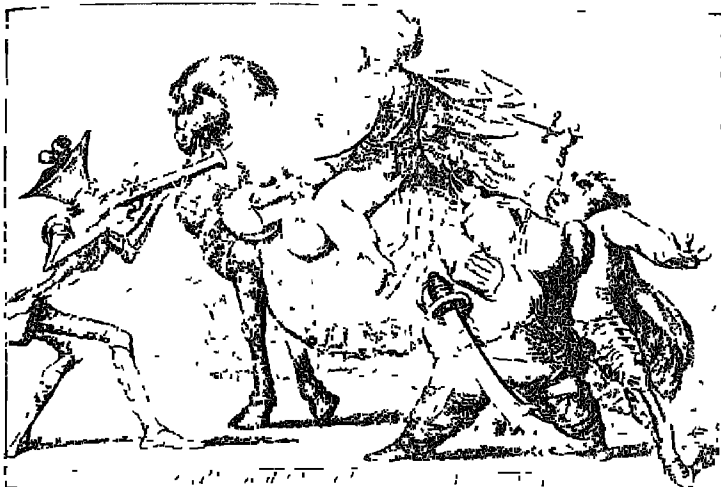
¹ See above, p. 631.

² See above, p. 613.

The Mari-
time War
1778-83

First
Mysore
War
1780-82

Suffren and
Hughes



INDIA IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE III

Above, a satirical print of 1786, issued during the trial of Warren Hastings, showing him assailed by Burke, North, and Fox *Below*, a contemporary portrait of Hyder Ali

Trial of
Warren
Hastings

deserved, he had to stand his trial for misgoverning India. The long and protracted trial of Warren Hastings in Westminster Hall, which went on, with various postponements, for seven years (1788-95), formed one of the most famous scenes in English legal history. The principal witnesses for the prosecution were Philip Francis and other enemies from India. On their side they had the powerful aid of Edmund Burke, who knew nothing about India, but who had formed the opinion that Warren Hastings was a tyrant. The old accusation that Hastings had unjustly procured the execution of Nuncomar was renewed, and other specific charges were made.¹ Burke thundered with all his eloquence against the accused, he said that the acts complained of were 'the damned and damnable proceedings of a judge in hell, and such a judge was Warren Hastings'. In the end Hastings was acquitted, he retired into private life, and lived to the age of 93. False as were most of the accusations made against him, his trial did good in one way. Burke's eloquent appeal on behalf of the suffering millions of India, whom he supposed Hastings to have misruled, awoke a sense of responsibility in Britain towards the peoples under our rule. This sense of responsibility, coupled with the abolition of slavery, did much to mould the character of the Second British Empire which was built up after Waterloo.

Its results

(11) *Cornwallis and Wellesley*

Pitt's India
Act, 1784

When Pitt took office (1783), it was generally recognized that further legislation was necessary to amend Lord North's Act, under which Warren Hastings had done his best to govern India. Pitt therefore introduced his India Act (1784). By this Act the position of the Governor-General was strengthened, he was made independent of his Council, which became only an advisory body. In London a special Board of Control (the forerunner of the India Office) was set up to deal with Indian affairs, and through it the Government was able to guide Indian policy, with the co-operation of the Governor-General. The Company was to confine itself to commercial affairs, and had

¹ See Macaulay's *Essay on Warren Hastings* for full details. Macaulay, however, accepts too readily the charges made against the Governor-General.

no voice in the appointment of the Governor-General This arrangement lasted till the abolition of the Company in 1858

Pitt's first appointment under the Act was Lord Cornwallis, of Yorktown fame, who became Governor-General for seven years (1786-93) He made what is known as the Permanent Settlement of Bengal He laid down regulations for the administration of justice, and the collection of revenue, which on the whole worked well, and which became the model for future British provinces Cornwallis also embarked on a war with Mysore, now ruled by Tippoo Sultan, the son of Hyder Ali. Tippoo was a no less aggressive person than his father, in 1789 he invaded Travancore, a state which was under the protection of the Madras government But he was defeated by the British forces, and as a result was forced to cede some of the outlying portions of his dominions to the Company.

Lord
Cornwallis
1786-93

Second
Mysore
War

In 1793 Cornwallis left India, and was succeeded by Sir John Shore, whose five years' rule (1793-8) was an uneventful period. After him came the Marquis Wellesley, whose vigorous personality at once stamped itself on Indian affairs Wellesley was more far-sighted than either the East India Company or the British Government He realized that Britain could not rule part of India peacefully without dominating the whole, and he therefore determined to change the British Empire in India to the British Empire of India It took so long for news to get from Britain to India and back again that Wellesley was able on the whole to pursue his policy without serious interference

Wellesley
1798-1805

Wellesley arrived in India at the time of the French expedition to Egypt, when the success or failure of Bonaparte's schemes still hung in the balance. Tippoo Sultan of Mysore, England's sworn foe, had declared himself in favour of the French Revolution—he was 'Citizen Tippoo', the ally of Napoleon Wellesley soon decided that Tippoo must be crushed before Napoleon could either send aid or—what was not thought unlikely—come himself to India Wellesley began with Hyderabad, a large but unmilitary state sandwiched between warlike neighbours, Mysore and the Mahratta chieftains Wellesley offered the British alliance to the Nizam of Hyderabad—with the alternative of war The Nizam was easily persuaded to abandon the French alliance, to keep an army under

Citizen
Tippoo

The Nizam

The Sub-
sidiary
Alliance
Policy

British officers, and to join with Wellesley against Tippoo and the Mahrattas. The alliance with the Nizam was thus made the key-stone of Wellesley's policy in southern India. It was the first of these subsidiary alliances by means of which he and his successors entered into a league with half India for the purpose of conquering the other half.

Third
Mysore
War, 1799

The Mysore War, which shortly broke out, did not last long. The campaign was conducted by Sir Arthur Wellesley, the Governor-General's younger brother (afterwards the victor of Waterloo), who easily beat Tippoo's army in the field, and besieged his capital, Seringapatam. British cannon battered down the walls, the troops entered the town, and Tippoo was killed in the fight. After this the danger from Mysore was over. Wellesley annexed the eastern coast-line and other parts, so that Mysore was reduced to half its former size. He restored the ancient line of Hindu rajahs, whom Tippoo's father had deposed; and the restored rulers became, like the Nizam, the allies of the Company. Shortly after this, the Carnatic was put definitely under the rule of the Governor of Madras (1801), so that all the south of India came under British control.

Conquest of
Mysore,
and of the
Carnatic

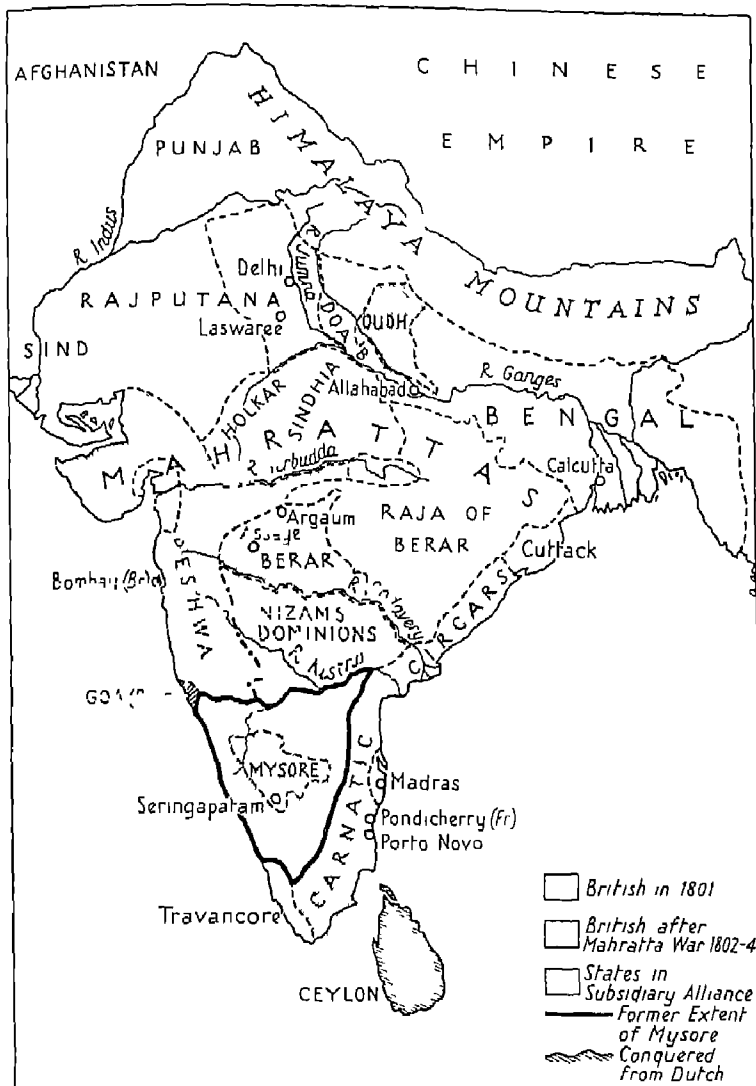
Treaty
with Oudh

Wellesley now turned his attention to northern India, and formed, with the Nawab of Oudh, an alliance similar to that already made with the Nizam. The Nawab also ceded a tract of territory known as the Doab (see map) directly to the Company. Soon after this Wellesley came into contact with the Mahrattas, whose chieftains were then engaged in fighting among themselves. In 1802, the Peshwa, their nominal head, was defeated in battle by his neighbours, and fled to the British for protection. Wellesley thereupon concluded a treaty with him (31 December 1802) and engaged to go to war with his enemies.

Treaty of
Bassem
1802

This alliance soon involved Wellesley in a war with Sindhia and Bhonsla, two of the Mahratta chieftains. General Wellesley again took the field, and defeated the Mahrattas at the battles of Assaye and Argaum—in the former with odds of ten to one against him. After this, Bhonsla submitted, surrendered some territory, and agreed to become a British 'ally'. At the same time General Lake attacked Sindhia, whose territories lay next to those of Oudh, and took from him Delhi, the capital city of India. After the storming of Delhi, the British took possession

Mahratta
War
1803-5



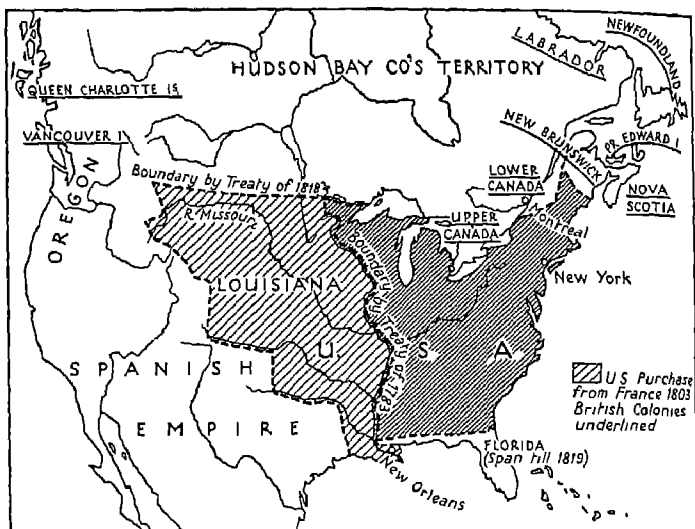
of the person of the Great Mogul, who had long been the prisoner of the Mahrattas, so that the Mogul now exchanged masters. One more battle—Laswaree—sufficed to complete the ruin of Sindhia. He also submitted, and surrendered a large slice of territory round Delhi. The third Mahratta chief, Holkar, who had so far stood aloof from the war, now tried conclusions with the British. He was more successful than his fellow chieftains, and inflicted one severe defeat on the British forces. It was this military reverse, together with the cost of the operations, which led to Wellesley's recall. The British government had become alarmed at the lengths to which his policy was leading them (1805). Capture of Delhi, 1803
Recall of Wellesley 1805

Wellesley, in his few years of power, had laid the foundations of British India. The map shows his work in consolidating the British possessions in the Peninsula—north, east, and south. He had struck the first great blow at the Mahratta power, which one of his successors was to complete by the final humiliation of that once-powerful confederacy. Henceforth the British were the unquestioned masters of India. For good or ill, Wellesley's work was done, his successors had to live up to the position which he had created, and from which there could be no going back. Whatever may be thought of Wellesley's somewhat high-handed methods, it must be admitted that his work brought peace to India. The *Pax Britannica*, which he inaugurated, depended upon the defeat of the military states, like Mysore, and the absorption of the weak by alliances or direct annexation. The success of his policy meant a new empire for Britain in the East, and a new market for British manufactures. It also meant an unwonted peace for India, as well as the gradual introduction of European methods, and all that has followed from that up to the present day. His work
The Pax Britannica

2 Canada

The present Dominion of Canada has grown out of the small province which Britain conquered from France in 1763. This province consisted of a strip of territory on either side of the St. Lawrence, from Lake Ontario to the mouth of the river. It contained only about 70,000 colonists, all Frenchmen. Two hundred miles east of Canada lay another ex-French colony— British North America in 1763

Acadie or Nova Scotia, which had been ceded to England at the Peace of Utrecht (1713). Here the population was mixed French and British, the French predominating. To the north and west of Canada lay the vast undefined territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, sparsely peopled by hunters and fur traders.



NORTH AMERICA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The problem of dealing with the French-speaking, Catholic inhabitants of Canada was solved by a great British administrator, Sir Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester, who twice held office as Governor of Canada. Carleton's work was to reconcile the French population to a foreign rule. He achieved this by showing respect for both the customs and the religion of the Canadians, and by persuading the British government to pass the Quebec Act (1774), by which freedom of worship was guaranteed to Roman Catholics in Canada.

Sir Guy
Carleton

Quebec
Act, 1774

The extent of Carleton's success was shown by the fact that the Canadians remained loyal to him during the American War, when he was able successfully to repel the invasion of Canada by

the revolted colonists¹ Immediately after the war a new problem arose About 40,000 former residents of the American Colonies fled from their homes, and took refuge under the British flag They were known as the United Empire Loyalists, and their crime, in the eyes of their fellow countrymen, was that they had declared themselves in favour of the continuance of British rule Now that victory (1783) had crowned the efforts of the revolted colonists, they were not at all disposed to show mercy to the Loyalists, who were hounded out of the United States The victims fled to Nova Scotia, and from there founded the separate province of New Brunswick (see map) Others settled among the French in Canada, but more still penetrated the forests to the north-east of Lake Ontario, and settled a new province—Ontario—between the Great Lakes and the Albany River

United
Empire
Loyalists

New
Brunswick

Ontario

There were now two maritime colonies (Nova Scotia and New Brunswick) and two inland colonies, Ontario and Quebec, known respectively also as Upper Canada and Lower Canada The problem which faced the younger Pitt, as Prime Minister, was to reconcile the varying interests of the French and British in the two Canadas He decided that the demand of the British in Upper Canada for a representative form of government—a free Parliament on the English model—could not be refused But the French Canadians were suspicious of that institution, Parliament, which they described as *un machine anglaise pour nous taxer* Nevertheless, Pitt decided to try the experiment of colonial Parliaments in both the Canadas But he did not consider it wise to unite the two provinces under one rule, since he thought that the two races would be certain to quarrel So his Canada Act (1791) provided both Upper and Lower Canada with a Lieutenant-Governor and a Council Each province was also to have an elected Legislative Assembly, which should vote taxes and pass laws subject to the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor and Council² By this means the demands of the British in Ontario were satisfied, while the French in Quebec were trained to adapt themselves to a British

The two
Canadas

Pitt's
Canada Act
1791

¹ See above, p 629

² The first step towards responsible government See below, chap XXXIX.

institution This compromise worked well for nearly half a century, during which time the population of Ontario rose from 10,000 to 400,000. Large numbers of British people emigrated to the new lands of the West, which the pioneers were opening in the virgin forest of North America

Just as Anglo-French Canada had remained loyal during the War of American Independence, so the two Canadas stood the shock of the second war, during the conflict with Napoleon, between Britain and the United States This war, which broke out in 1812, was concerned with the old questions arising out of the British naval supremacy By the Orders in Council,¹ Britain had forbidden neutrals, including America, to trade with the French Empire. Britain also claimed the right to search American vessels for deserters from the British Navy The Americans were angry with both France and Britain. But France's diplomacy was better, and the British fleet came into conflict with the U S A vessels more frequently, so the U.S.A. declared war on Britain and the conflict thus began lasted two years At first it was waged on or near the Great Lakes. There were one or two American raids into Canada, and skirmishes between flotillas on the Lakes. The first fall of Napoleon in 1814 resulted in the Peninsular veterans being sent out to America, after which our position improved In 1814 the British raided the American capital, Washington, and burnt all the public buildings and the President's house, in revenge for the burning of Toronto, after this unhappy deed they sailed away again Peace was signed between the American and British representatives at Ghent (1814), but the news did not reach America soon enough to prevent a British attack on New Orleans (January 1815) which was repulsed, with great loss, by an American army under Andrew Jackson The peace made no change, and showed the futility of the war, but it is significant that in the Crimean War—the next considerable war of the century—Britain abandoned her excessive claims against neutrals.

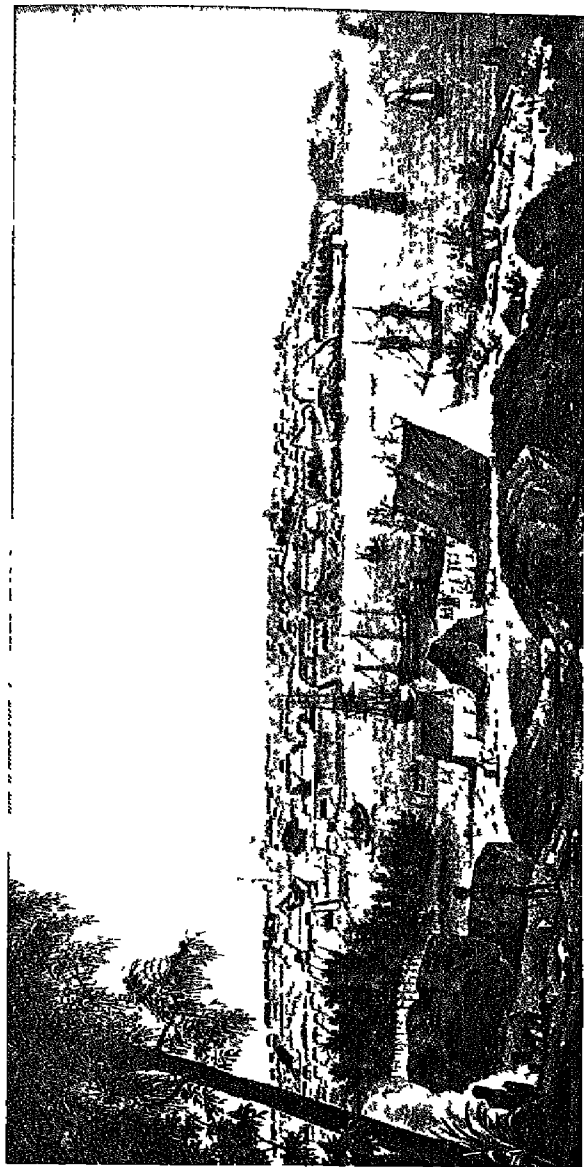
The
American
War of 1812

Peace of
Ghent
1814

3 *Australia*

Australia takes its name from the Terra Australis Incognita ('Unknown Land of the South') which the sixteenth-century

¹ See above, p 718



THE BEGINNING OF SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

An early view of Sydney (about 1800)

Terra map-makers regarded as a huge continent in the southern seas,
Australis Such a continent as they imagined did not exist, but the
Incognita voyages of Tasman and other Dutch navigators in the seven-
 teenth century proved the existence of parts of north and west
 Australia, and of Tasmania. It was left to an Englishman of the
 eighteenth century to make the most important discovery of all.

Captain Captain James Cook, who had been with Wolfe's expedi-
Cook tion up the St. Lawrence to Quebec (1759), was appointed
 in 1768 to command a scientific expedition to the South Seas.
 On board were Sir Joseph Banks, a prominent member of the
 Royal Society, and other scientists. Cook sailed first to Tahiti,
 then made south for New Zealand (already discovered by
 the Dutch), where he circumnavigated the islands. From New
 Zealand the expedition sailed westward and so came to
 the hitherto undiscovered eastern coast of Australia. Cook's
 skilful navigation enabled the ships to sail the whole length
 of the coast-line, in spite of the perils of the Great Barrier Reef.
 Sir Joseph Banks was much struck by the profuseness of the
 vegetation in New South Wales, as Cook named the southern
 part of the country. One spot, in particular, Banks named

Three
Pacific
Voyages
 1768-79

Botany Bay
 1770

Cook made two more voyages to the Pacific, and was killed
 by some natives at Hawaii in 1779. Sir Joseph Banks urged
 the Government to profit by his New South Wales discovery,
 and to send out an expedition to colonize the country. But
 Pitt and his Home Secretary, Lord Sydney, did not favour the
 plantation of new colonies. They were impressed, however, by
 the possibilities of Australia as a convict settlement, now that
 it was no longer possible to transport felons to the American
 colonies. In January 1788—a week before a French expedition
 arrived—Captain Arthur Phillip landed in Botany Bay with the
 first batch of English prisoners for New South Wales.

Foundation
of New
South
Wales, 1788

The new settlement was centred upon Port Jackson, after-
 wards renamed Sydney (in honour of the Home Secretary),
 north of Botany Bay. The prisoners were guarded by soldiers,
 and for the first twenty years of its existence the new colony

The Settle-
ment

was run on the harsh lines of more than military discipline.
 Phillip sent the worst characters to a new settlement in Norfolk
 Island in the Pacific, another prisoners' colony was also made

in Tasmania (1804) It must be remembered that, in those iron days, men and women were transported overseas for such a 'crime' as stealing a sheep, for the British felony laws were at that time the harshest in Europe. Some of the so-called felons, therefore, were of quite a good type for colonization, though life in the settlements was demoralizing to their character.

In addition, a thin but increasing stream of free emigrants reached Australia. The discovery (in 1813) of a pass over the Blue Mountains, leading to the Bathurst Plains beyond, was important for the future development of the colony. The country beyond the mountains proved to be among the finest grasslands in the world, and the introduction of sheep—some ^{Sheep} from George III's own farm—founded the prosperity of Australia.¹ Henceforth the immigration of free colonists largely increased. The real history of Australia began with its sheep-farmers and with its intrepid explorers.

¹ See below, Chap. XXXIX



Portrait of AMAN of the SANDWICH ISLANDS with his HELMET

A YOUNG WOMAN of the SANDWICH ISLANDS

NATIVES OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS

DATE SUMMARY. THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA (1783-1815)

BRITAIN	AMERICA, INDIA, AUSTRALIA	EUROPE
	WILLIAM PITT—PEACE (1783-93)	
1783-1801 Pitt's first Ministry	1784 India Act	
1784 Dr Johnson <i>d</i>	1786-93 Cornwallis in India	
1786 Commercial Treaty with France	1787 Constitution of U S A	
	1788-95 Trial of Warren Hastings	
	1789-97 Washington, President U S A	
	1788 Foundation of N S. Wales	
1790 Burke's <i>Reflections on Fr Rev</i>	1790 Nootka Sound	1789 FRENCH REVOLUTION
1791 Wesley <i>d</i>	1791 Canada Act	
1792 United Irishmen		1792 France at war with Austria and Prussia
Whig split		September Massacres
Shelley born		✗ Valmy
WAR I—PITT AND NELSON (1793-1806)		
1793 War with France		1793-5 Second and Third Partitions of Poland
1794 Habeas Corpus suspended		1793-5 First Coalition
Gibbon <i>d</i>		
1795 Keats born	1795-6 British take Ceylon and the Cape	1796-7 NAPOLEON in Italy
1796 Burns <i>d</i>		1797 ✗ C St Vincent
		✗ Camperdown
1798 Irish Rebellion	1798-1805 WELLESLEY in India	1798 ✗ NIL
<i>Lyrical Ballads</i>		
1799 Combination Acts	1799 Conquest of Mysore	1799-1800 Second Coalition
1800 ACT OF UNION (BRITAIN AND IRELAND)		
1801 Pitt resigns		1802 Treaty of Amiens
1801-4 Addington Ministry	1803-5 Mahratta War	1803 War renewed
1804-6 Pitt's second Ministry		1804 Napoleon Emperor
		1805 Third Coalition
		1805 (Oct) ✗ TRAFALGAR
		(Dec) ✗ AUSTERLITZ
1806 Pitt <i>d</i>		
WAR—CANNING, CASTLEREAGH, AND WELLINGTON (1806-15)		
1806-7 Ministry of All the Talents	1807 Britain ends SLAVE TRADE	1806 End of Holy Roman Empire
1806 Fox <i>d</i>		Berlin Decree
1807-9 Portland Ministry		1807 Treaty of Tilsit
Canning Foreign Sec		England seizes Danish fleet
1807 Orders in Council		French invade Portugal
		1808 Napoleon attacks Spain
		1808-14 PENINSULAR WAR
1809-12 Perceval Ministry		
1812-27 LIVERPOOL MINISTRY	1812-14 Anglo American War	1812 Retreat from Moscow
Castlereagh Foreign Sec (to 1822)		
		1813 German rising against Napoleon
1814 Scott's <i>Waverley</i>	1814 Treaty of Ghent	1814 Treaty of Chaumont
		1815 Napoleon's Hundred Days
		✗ WATERLOO
		TREATY OF VIENNA

¹ For fuller details of the Great French War, see Chart, p 731

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